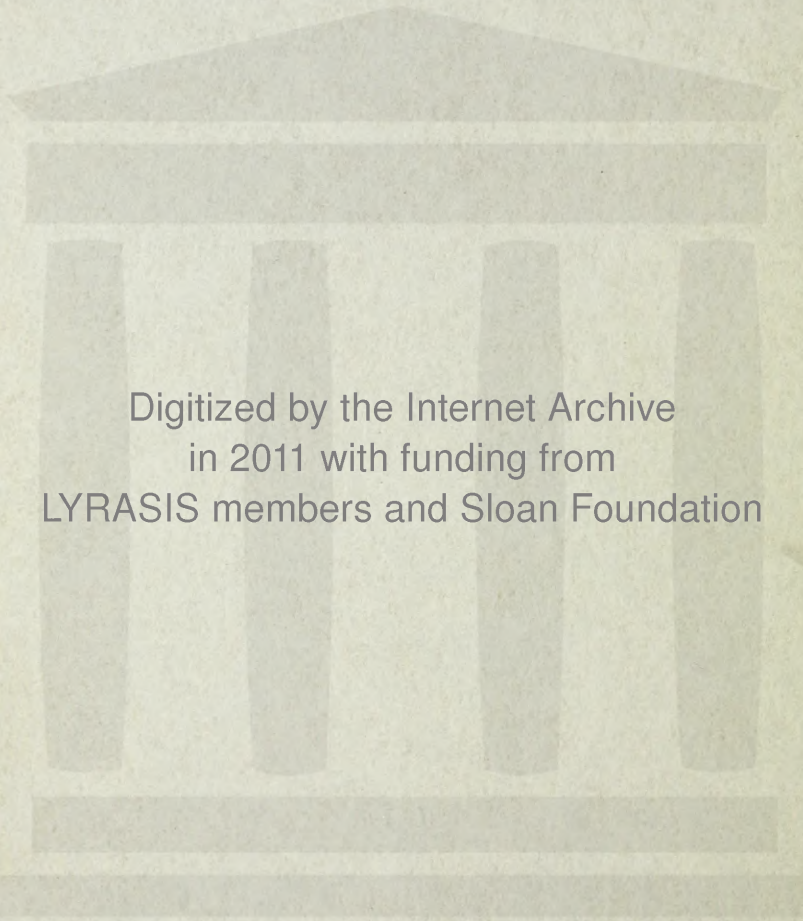


THE HUMAN WAY  
(Second Edition)

Edited By  
James E. McCulloch

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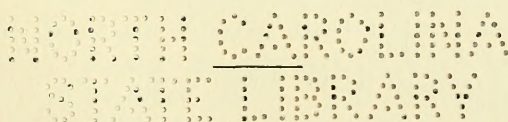
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ADDRESSES ON RACE PROBLEMS  
AT THE  
SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS  
ATLANTA

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EDITED BY

JAMES E. McCULLOCH



SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

At the closing session of the conferences on Race Problems held during the meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress in Atlanta there were numerous and emphatic expressions of opinion that the addresses, in addition to their incorporation in the general publication of the Congress, should be issued in a separate edition. Pledges were promptly given in support of the plan. In response to this demand the present volume is published.

1913.

JAMES H. DILLARD, *Chairman.*

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## NOTE TO SECOND EDITION

A SECOND edition has been called for, in issuing which a few changes have seemed advisable. Several of the writers have been glad to make certain amendments or notes, and the editor has omitted two papers, not because of any lack of merit, but simply because the matter was supplied in other papers. In place of these have been substituted an address, delivered by Dr. R. R. Moton, at a later meeting of the Congress in Memphis, and a paper by Prof. A. M. Trawick, of Nashville, on Southern Race Questions in War Times.

As Chairman of the Committee on Race Relations, and in behalf of all the members of the Committee, I venture to take this opportunity of bearing testimony to the high service which has been rendered by the Southern Sociological Congress in providing for the sectional meetings held under the auspices of this Committee. In these meetings representative men and women of both races have met and discussed in frank and friendly way various matters of common concern, affecting the welfare of not only a part of the nation but of the whole nation. The meetings have invariably been well attended and their good influence has been manifest in many directions. Furthermore these meetings have helped, along with similar sectional meetings on topics of public health, education, agriculture and other social problems, to emphasize the incalculable value of having in our midst just such an organization as this Congress has proved itself to be.

1918.

J. H. D.

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# THE HUMAN WAY

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## THE PRESENT SITUATION

JAMES H. DILLARD, M.A., LL.D.

At the first meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress, held in Nashville, May, 1912, there were two conferences on race problems. These conferences were well attended and proved most interesting. There were present a number of representative men of both races, and it was found that there was not time to hear all who wished to speak on the subject. During the session of this first Congress a committee was appointed on Race Relationships consisting of the following: A. J. Barton, Waco, Tex.; Miss Belle H. Bennett, Richmond, Ky.; C. E. Branson, Chapel Hill, N. C.; William H. Fleming, Augusta; H. B. Frissell, Hampton, Va.; J. D. Hammond, Dalton, Ga.; G. W. Hubbard, Nashville; G. H. Huckaby, Shreveport; W. R. Lambuth, Nashville; John Little, Louisville; J. D. Snedecor, Tuscaloosa; A. H. Stone, Dunleith, Miss.; W. P. Thirkield, New Orleans; C. B. Wilmer, Atlanta; W. D. Weatherford, Nashville, Secretary; and James H. Dillard, Charlottesville, Va., Chairman.

There was also formed at the first Congress what is known as the University Commission on Race Questions. This Commission consists of representatives from ten Southern State Universities as follows: Alabama, J. J. Doster; Arkansas, C. H. Brough, Chairman; Florida, J. M. Farr; Georgia, R. J. H. DeLoach; Louisiana, W. O. Scroggs; Mississippi, W. D. Hedleston; North Carolina, C. W. Bain; South Carolina, Josiah Morse; Tennessee, J. D. Hoskins; Texas, W. S. Sutton; Virginia, W. M. Hunley, Secretary.

At each annual session of the Southern Sociological Congress, the Section on Race Relations has been more largely attended by both white and colored delegates than any other department. The University Commission on Race Questions has held annual meetings with increasing interest. These facts are significant in the study of America's greatest

problem, for they emphasize the truth that the time has come when the earnest and thoughtful white people of the South have determined to face the problems involved in race relationships, and to coöperate with each other, with the colored people themselves, and with friends in the North in promoting better conditions than have existed since the reconstruction days.

In those early days of reconstruction the great trouble was caused by the predominating influence of men who, however sincere they may have been, attempted to do the impossible overnight. I can never think of those days without calling to mind an illustration which was being exhibited about the same time in the Old World.

Fifty-odd years ago Italy was an expression, not a united country. There was a bundle of divided states, but not one country as it is to-day. All great Italians, both statesmen and men of letters, earnestly desired union. Three great men stood out among many as the champions of a United Italy. These were Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour. Mazzini was uncompromisingly in favor of a republic, and worked largely by secret associations and conspiracy. Garibaldi was always ready for fight and for any extreme measures. Cavour was the statesman, the greatest, I think, with his contemporary Lincoln, in the nineteenth century. Cavour said that a republic at that stage of the game was impossible. He knew that Europe would not allow it, even if the Italians were ready for it. He said: "I will work for the possible. I will take the kingdom of Sardinia and unite Italy around that." And he did.

Mr. William R. Thayer, one of our American historians, has written the standard life of Cavour, one of the greatest books ever written in America. In speaking of Cavour he used the expression that Cavour had "an enthusiasm for the possible." It is a great expression. Most "enthusiasts" have an enthusiasm for the impossible. The impossible may be the ideal, may come later on, but if it be impossible at the time, the highest wisdom is to be enthusiastic for the possible and to wait.

In our own country, after the Civil War, if statesmen like Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens had attempted less,



they would have accomplished more in the long run. Idealists ignore the fact that we are walking on the earth. We humans will not be pushed too fast. We have to grow. If the forward push is too rapid or too far, reaction is inevitable. In all forward movements this is a fact which it is the part of highest wisdom to remember. Sumner and Stevens ignored this fact. I think we may guess that Lincoln, had he been spared to deal with reconstruction, would have taken a different course. I think that, like Cavour in Italy, Lincoln would have had an "enthusiasm for the possible," and would have foreseen that it was impossible to do outright what later events have shown to have been impossible of accomplishment in such a hasty way.

But we had the reconstruction days with their trial of ill will. It is needless to dwell on the ugly details. I am not claiming that there were no well-meaning efforts in the process of reconstruction, or that the men engaged were all of them nothing more than selfish and unscrupulous politicians, but we know the results. For forty years the well-disposed have been suffering from the bitterness that was begotten. Let us be glad that what may be called the post-reconstruction period seems at last to be drawing to a close.

This is the truth which I wish to emphasize at this time. I sincerely believe that the day of better feeling is at hand. I believe that the day has come when we shall, if I may say so, start over again and develop right relations in the right way. We Southern white people now realize two facts in regard to the relationship of the races. First, we realize that the old relationship, so frequently typified in the affection of the black mammy, is one that must pass. Second, we realize that the spirit of no relationship, no responsibility, no coöperation, is impossible. We see that our whole public welfare requires the education and improvement of the colored people in our midst. We see that public health depends on common efforts between the races. We see that the prosperity of these Southern States is conditioned on greater intelligence among the masses of all the people. We see that every consideration of justice and righteousness demands our good will, our helpful guidance wherever it can be given, and our co-operation.

Let us hope that the deliberations and discussions of these conferences will tend to promote this spirit of good will and coöperation. Let us hope that by coming together we may learn better how to set ourselves to work to improve conditions. Let us speak out with plainness and honest conviction, and at the same time with good feeling and sympathy.

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## HOW TO ENLIST THE WELFARE AGENCIES OF THE SOUTH FOR IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS AMONG THE NEGROES

W. D. WEATHERFORD, PH.D., NASHVILLE, TENN.

I WISH to make clear in the very beginning that the same type of agency which can improve the conditions for the white people can also improve the conditions of life for the negro. Humanity is humanity whether the color be black or white, and I know no fiat of God that makes white any more valuable as a color or any easier to deal with than black. Every social agency which is working for the uplift of the white race should also be working for the uplift of the colored race, unless there is a special branch of that organization working for the negroes. Let us take for granted in this paper that we believe the negro needs help in practically every way that the white man needs help. Here it simply falls to my lot to enumerate some of the agencies which are working for the uplift among white people, and to show how they can be used to uplift the negro.

First, we would mention the Church as the greatest of all social and welfare agencies. We do not now speak of the Church as a dispenser of charity or the builder of orphanages and asylums. We speak of the Church as a social agent in a much truer and deeper sense than any of these. The great social mission of the Church is the bringing in of a new appreciation of the sacredness and value of the individual man. This means brotherhood. It means equal safety of life. It means an equal chance to make a living and build a life. Now the equal opportunity can only come when every man is recognized as a real man, as a person. The Church,



and the Church alone, can bring about any such estimate of humanity. No amount of legislation can ever make us value the individual; it can only prevent or deter us from harming that individual. Law can never change our essential attitude toward humanity. To this problem the Church holds the key. Its message of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man puts new meaning into every life and guarantees a new safety and security.

Now it is high time that the white Churches were awakening to the responsibility of extending this sense of sacredness to all men; to the ignorant as well as to the learned, to the wicked as well as to the righteous, to the black as well as to the white.

In a paper last year before this Congress, I called attention to the fact that this very attitude of man to man is the Gibraltar on which the Southern Church and State may wreck themselves. I wish to repeat here that we can not hope to have any real respect for law, we can not build up any civilized community so long as personality is not held sacred. So long as we grind up our children in the mill, so long as we stifle our poor ones in the damp cellars and cheap tenement houses, so long as we allow negroes to be lynched—just so long will we fail to have any genuine appreciation of the sacredness and value of the person. We can not despise some persons and value others, for personality is personality, whether it is poor or rich, whether black or white; and we despise any portion of humanity at the risk of losing our sense of the sacredness of all men, and hence breaking down our laws, destroying our civilization, giving the lie to our Christian ethics, and damning our own souls.

I want to maintain here and now that every minister of the gospel, every Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association or of the Young Women's Christian Association, every teacher in our schools, every social worker in the South has a sacred and solemn obligation to instill into the hearts of all those whom they lead this principle of the value and sacredness of the person. We need more sermons preached on this theme. We need more addresses in our Associations, we need more emphasis on this in our schools. If we can not win the day here, we are hopelessly lost. And we are not now

winning the day. We are not growing as we should in our appreciation of the sacredness of human personality. The horrible lynchings that have been taking place in the South during the last few months are enough to make our blood run cold with despair. More of us must speak out on this topic. It is not opposition to lynching we are talking about—we must all oppose that, God knows—but we must go deeper than that. We must cure the horrible cancer that eats at the heart of our civilization, this horrible lack of appreciation for the sacredness of the individual person. This is our malady, and so long as we do nothing to cure it we may expect it to flower forth in bloody lynchings, in underfed women, in starved and neglected children, and in a criminal system which is more cruel than raw barbarism.

We need a new crusade of a "Peter the Hermit," not to rescue an empty tomb from the hands of an infidel power, but a crusade to wrench the helpless and the belated from the hands of a maddened mob which puts money above man, which puts prejudice above persons, which puts license instead of law, which uses immoral mobs to uphold morality, which despises and degrades all personality in a so-called attempt to vindicate the wrong of a single person. If the churches, the schools, and the associations would throw themselves into this great crusade, we should have a new appreciation of the Godhood in man and hence less of injustice, inequality, and crime. I should like to see this Congress send out a call for such a crusade as this, which would set a thousand pulpits ringing with a new message of humanity, and would give new meaning to the teaching in ten thousand schoolrooms, because God and humanity had found a defending voice.

The second social agency which must be used for the uplift of the negro is the school. We do not always think of the Church and the school as social and welfare agencies, but they are the strong twin brothers, without which all other agencies would be absolutely helpless. The school touches more classes of people, more members of each class, and each member for a longer time, and at a most favorable period, than does any other social agency. It takes the children of the rich and of the poor alike, the cultured and the uncultured, the



moral and the morally deficient, and deals with them together in such a fashion as to give a unique opportunity to really serve. Our task, therefore, is to socialize the school, to so fill it with the message of social uplift that it will minister to the whole life of the community in which it exists.

In order that the negro school may thus become socialized, there are four things necessary, as I see it, and in all these respects we are now making substantial progress.

1. We must put more money into our negro schools in order that they may have more decent buildings, more inspiring surroundings, better equipment, and longer school terms.

2. We must set a new type of curriculum for our negro children. These schools must fit into the needs of the life of the people whom they serve. We are now clamoring for a type of curriculum for our country schools for white children which will widely depart from the type used in our city schools. Why should we not be logical and see to it that we give to the negroes a type of text-books and courses suited to their specialized need?

3. We need better trained teachers. The average negro teacher has such little training that he would not be able to comprehend what you meant if you talked about the school being an agency for social uplift. But these teachers are giving more than that for which they are paid. Why should we expect to get all the virtues of a trained intellect, a skillful hand, and a consecrated heart, all combined in the person of a negro teacher whom we pay the handsome stipend of twenty-two dollars and forty-eight cents per month, or the princely fortune of eighty dollars, ninety-two cents, and eight mills for the whole school term,\* as is the case in one State?

4. We must have better school supervision. If the white teacher in a city, with good training, splendid equipment, the stimulus of fellow teachers, needs the careful supervision of a city superintendent, how much more does the poorly trained negro teacher, working alone in the country, with no equipment, little encouragement, no inspiration from fellow

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\*Negro Life in the South," p. 98.

teachers—how very much more does she need careful supervision, inspiration, and direction? I can not tell you what a wonderful transformation is being wrought in those counties where Dr. Dillard through his Jeanes Foundation is able to place a county supervising teacher, who heartens these isolated teachers, giving them training and supervision. This Congress ought to send out a stirring call to the philanthropists of this country to put into the hands of Dr. Dillard and his Board enough money to place such a supervising teacher in every county in the South. At this same time we should make a plea for better supervision on the part of county superintendents. Much has been done, but much more remains to be done.

One can think of no greater and more far-reaching influence than that of a socialized school—a school into which the conception of the value of humanity has found its way; a school where the course of study fits its pupils to take their place in the life of the community; a school where health and housing, morals and manners, efficiency and service are given full presentation. The negro school must be made an effective agent for uplifting the race. We must set forth some standards for it, we must have some convictions about it, we must write some policies for it, and we must put our shoulders to the wheel and swear by all that is holy that these things shall come to pass.

Another welfare agency in the South, though it would probably not be mentioned by our professional social workers, is that of the United States Farm Demonstration work. This work goes into the country, and through the personal visits of the trained agent attempts to teach the farmer how to raise more corn, cotton, or tobacco, how to keep his land up, how to utilize his place for stock-raising—in fact how to make a comfortable and respectable living where he before was simply eking out an existence. Hundreds of farmers are now enjoying splendid crops and good homes, who were formerly on the edge of bankruptcy and homelessness. The great need is that this work shall be extended to the negro as well as to the white man. There are a few Negro Farm Demonstration Agents, and some of the white agents have a few negroes working under their direction, but the great



mass of negro farmers are not touched. With 890,000 negro farmers in the South, controlling either as owners or tenants forty million acres of improved lands, it is high time we should wake up to the enormous economic problem involved in the proper training of these men.

These three forces which we have mentioned are usually left out of an enumeration of the social and welfare agencies, but they are the heart of the problem in this solution of the race question. Let us now pass to some of the regular agencies for social and civic betterment.

The city charity organizations have sprung up like mushrooms all over North America, and we are now beginning to have our full share in the South.

The city of Boston boasted 1,424 such organizations in 1907, devoted to every conceivable kind of relief. We were told by a social worker in Atlanta recently that there were one hundred specialized social workers representing almost an equal number of betterment organizations in this city. The great difficulty with this great mass of relief and betterment work lies in its lack of system, coördination, and co-operation. There is an endless amount of overlapping and duplication, together with an enormous amount of oversight of problems which need attention. It is in this field of omission and oversight that the negro often finds himself. In the South, to say the least of it, the negro probably has a good chance of securing relief from physical suffering by way of cold and hunger, as has the poor white. But the difficulty lies in the realm of corrective service. Practically nothing is now being done in any systematic fashion to prevent negroes from coming into positions of dependence. There is need for a definite negro department in every city charity organization, which will carefully study the problem and lay constructive policies to meet the need.

In this connection it is vitally important that the negro himself be induced to become an integral part of the charity organization in order that he may assume some responsibility for the help of his own people. Such a negro charity society was organized recently in Columbia, S. C., and found a most hearty response among the negroes of that city. This negro department of the city charities would make a careful

study of the sanitary conditions of those sections of the city occupied largely by negroes, and by giving publicity to such facts would coöperate with the white organizations in bringing about needed reform. It would also study the housing problem. This can be done by negroes with much more facility and ease than it can ever be done by white people. They would enlist the coöperation of negro physicians in studying the health conditions of the negro population. All this work by negroes would help to train them in the largest conceptions of race pride and race betterment. What we are pleading for here is that the city charity organizations in our Southern cities shall cease to work *for* negroes and begin to work *with* negroes. We are asking that we take them into our plans in working on this big betterment scheme for the whole community. We are asking that we treat them as responsible members of the community, and not as dependent wards. We are suggesting that we serve them by helping them to help themselves. We are pleading that we not only care for and uplift the weak, the dependent, the poverty-stricken, but that we strengthen the whole race by uniting its leaders in a constructive service for their own people. This seems to me to be the only statesmanlike way to work out this problem.

I wish to mention only one more form of welfare work, though many more might be mentioned. One of the very greatest needs of the negro race in America is a chance for recreation among adults and play life among the children. Those who know the negro best know very well that there is little chance for either play or recreation, whether the negroes live in the city or in the country. One hardly need call attention in this company to the part which play must contribute to the building of character. The Boys' Work Commission of the Men and Religion Movement, in its printed report, speaks of the necessity of play life in the following terms: "As preparations for making a religious response to the world, something should also be said of play, because of its value in developing spontaneity, coöperation, abandon, imagination, rhythm, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and prompt obedience to the order of the will. In general, the hearty extension of interest to its farthest limit, and the disposition



to revel in life's high and eternal possibilities, will depend upon the early cultivation through play, directed and undirected, alone and in groups, of those very movements of the soul which later constitute religious faith and worship."

Play life is the very foundation of character development, and the child that can not play, or must play in filthy and unwholesome surroundings, will surely not grow into the fullest strength of character. This is precisely the conditions that surround the play life or lack of play life of negro children. One wonders if we are aware that there are no playgrounds for negro children. Most of the parks are not open to them, most of the ball fields are closed against them, most of the vacant lots are forbidden ground to groups of negro children, and even the negro school grounds are so restricted in most cases that coöperative games are next to impossible. How can we expect these negro children to grow into strong characters, able to coöperate with their fellow men in the game of life, if the games of childhood are forbidden them?

It is time the playground movement was getting some real impetus in the South. Rev. John Little has opened two little play spots—not playgrounds; they aren't that big—in Louisville, and the negro children are so thick there that every hour these places are open you can not get a picture of the grounds because of the children. There is not a city in the South where we might not have good playgrounds for the negro children at a very low cost and a very high rate of profit to the whole community.

But not alone does the negro child need play: the adult needs recreation under decent conditions. About a year ago I made a hurried examination of the amusements for negroes in twenty-seven Southern cities. The facts were gathered by both white and colored students and professors in these various cities, so that I had a check against the optimism of white investigators and the pessimism of the colored. But such a check was scarcely needed. Few of either class found anything like adequate facilities for recreation and amusement. The only amusement place that one of these cities could report was a dance hall, six pool rooms, and twenty-six eating houses; negroes admitted to the peanut gallery of the

theaters. Another reports one air dome (low resort), one moving-picture show with vaudeville attachment; "negroes admitted to peanut gallery in white theaters; but better class say they will not go unless for some special attraction, as they are put with the lowest class of whites." This report is made by a trained sociologist, a Southern white person living in a city of fifty thousand. Another city of forty thousand inhabitants, at least half of whom are colored, reports not a single moving-picture show, not a theater, not a public playground, no public baths, no public gymnasiums, and only four school yards where people can gather for recreation or amusement. Another investigator reports: "Picture shows with vaudeville attachment are rotten, attended by the lowest types of all colors." Still another city reports: "There have been several picture shows exclusively for negroes. They have been on the vilest streets and have been attended largely by the worst element of negroes; and from all I can learn the pictures have not been of the cleanest sort, to say the least."

If the social workers of America are right in claiming that the hours of play for children and the hours of recreation and amusement for adults are the hours of greatest danger to the character as well as the hours of greatest possibility, surely we in the South are taking a tremendous risk in allowing nine millions of our citizens to spend these hours under conditions which are all too frequently vile and unwholesome. It would be in accord with the best principles of economics and sociology, it would be high philanthropy and high statesmanship to see to it that those who live by our sides have a chance to build character during the leisure hours. To their work for white children and better amusement conditions for the white adults, every Playground Association and Park Commission in the South has an obligation to make some provision for the negro people. If it comes to a question of expense, I for one would rather be taxed to support playgrounds instead of penitentiaries. I would rather support parks than city jails, I would rather support playground supervisors than chain-gang wardens. Incidentally there would be less taxes to pay, greater safety of life and property, and a growing company of colored



children who had a chance to become good citizens and an economic asset in the upbuilding of our Southland.

We have thus mentioned five social betterment forces in the South which must be harnessed to the problem of negro uplift. The list is of course suggestive, and not exhaustive. We have only meant to indicate the way in which we can use forces now in existence to further the cause of negro betterment. In other words, this is simply a plea that in all our social welfare movements in the South we must remember that we are not working for 20,547,420 whites, but for twenty million whites plus 8,749,427 negroes. We must not forget that we have a population of 29,296,847 and that we have no right to omit a single one of these when we are laying our plans for social betterment.

In conclusion, I would like to say one more thing. The South is a solid South in more than a political sense. We are a solid South in a social sense. I mean whatever affects the social welfare of one man affects the social welfare of every other man in the section. We are bound together by the fact of proximity, we are bound together by economic relations, we are bound together by the traditions of the past, we are bound together by all the forces of present life which demand the guarding of our health, our ideals, and our civilization. We are not eight million negroes and twenty million whites; we are twenty-nine million human beings, and whatever affects one of our company must of necessity affect all the other 28,999,999. The sin of the immoral will destroy the safety of the moral, the disease of the weakest will destroy the health of the strongest, the prejudice of the most ignorant will warp the judgment of the most learned, the lawlessness of the most criminal will blacken the fair name and drag into criminal action the law-abiding instincts of the highest citizens. We must stand or fall together. Thank God, this is true! This insures that the learned shall not despise the ignorant, that the physically sound shall not despise the physically weak, the rich man can not scorn the poverty-stricken, the righteous can not become self-righteous in their contempt for the morally weak. Every welfare movement for whites must become a welfare movement for negroes as well. This interest in the whole will keep us

from dying with the dry-rot of complacency. God has put upon the religious, educational, and social workers of both races of the South a tremendous load of responsibility; but by His help we will carry it like men, and be all the stronger because of our manly exertion.

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## WORK OF THE COMMISSION OF SOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES ON THE RACE QUESTION

GOVERNOR C. H. BROUGH, PH.D., OF ARKANSAS

THE South is to be congratulated on the fact that she has educational statesmen with far-sighted and philanthropic vision, of the type of Dr. J. H. Dillard, who has consecrated his ripe experience and able executive leadership to the social, economic, educational, religious, and civic improvement of the negro race. Such a leader, who is the inspiration and originator of the Commission of Professors from representative Southern Universities, is worth infinitely more to our nation and to our Southland than a thousand ranting demagogues.

With such an inspiring force as Dr. Dillard, I feel that our commission could do no better than to follow the splendid constructive outline which he has mapped out for our work; therefore, as Chairman of the Commission, I invite suggestions along the following lines:

### I. What are the conditions?

1. Religious. Contributions, excessive denominationalism, lack of the practical in preaching, etc.
2. Educational. Self-help, Northern contributions, public schools, etc.
3. Hygienic. The whole question of health and disease.
4. Economic. Land ownership, business enterprises, abuse of credit system, etc.
5. Civic. Common carriers, courts of justice, franchise, etc. Changes and tendencies in the above conditions. Attitude of the whites.

### II. What should and can be done, especially by whites, for improvement?

### III. What may be hoped as to future conditions and relations?



With reference to the religious contributions to the betterment of the negro, it may be said that our Churches have been pursuing a "penny wise and pound foolish economy." The Presbyterians last year gave an average of three postage stamps per member to the work. The Methodists averaged less than the price of a cheap soda water—just a five-cent one. The Southern Baptist Convention has only been asking from its large membership \$15,000 annually for this tremendous work. In view of these conditions, as Southern Churchmen, we may well echo the passionately eloquent outburst of Dr. W. D. Weatherford, one of the most profound thinkers and virile writers of the negro question, and the leader of the young men of the South in their Y. M. C. A. work: "Do we mean to say by our niggardly gifts that these people are helpless and worthless in the sight of God? Do we mean to say that one cent per member is doing our share in evangelizing the whole race? God pity the Southern Christians, the Southern Churches, and the Southern States, if we do not awake to our responsibilities in this hour of opportunity."

But the responsibility for deplorable religious conditions among the negroes is not altogether with the whites. While it is true that the negro is by nature a religious and emotional animal, while there are approximately 4,500,000 Church members among the 10,000,000 negroes in the United States, and these Churches represent property values of nearly \$40,000,000, yet it is also painfully true that excessive denominationalism and ecclesiastical rivalry and dissensions prevent the formation of strong, compact organizations among them and, as a result, there are twice as many Church organizations as there should be, congregations are small, and the salaries paid their preachers are not large enough to secure competent men.

In connection with the character of the average negro preacher, it is interesting to note that in an investigation made by Atlanta University concerning the character of the negro ministry, of two hundred negro laymen who were asked their opinion of the moral character of negro preachers, only thirty-seven gave decided answers of approval. Among faults mentioned by these negro laymen were selfishness, deceptiveness, love of money, sexual impurity, dogmatism, laziness, and

ignorance, and to these may be added the fact that preaching is generally of a highly emotional type and is wholly lacking in any practical moral message. At this meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress, I trust that some one will discuss the necessity of holding up before the negroes the conception of the Perfect Man of Galilee, of unblemished character and spotless purity, who went about doing good, as well as the conception of a Saviour of power and a Christ of divinity.

Educationally the negroes of the South have made remarkable progress. In 1880, of the negro population above ten years of age, 70 per cent were illiterate. By the end of the next decade this illiteracy had been reduced to 57.1 per cent, and by the close of the century it had declined to 44.5 per cent. During the last ten years of the nineteenth century there was an increase of the negro population of 1,087,000 in the school age of ten years and over; yet, despite this increase, there was a decrease in illiteracy of 190,000. In 1912 there were over 2,000,000 between the ages of five and eighteen, or 54 per cent of the total number of educable negro children, enrolled in the common schools of the former slave States, and the percentage of illiteracy among the negroes is only 27.5 per cent.

In the State of Arkansas for the year ending June 30, 1912, 109,731 negro children were enrolled in the common schools out of a total educable negro population of 175,503, and the percentage of illiteracy among the negroes was only 26.2 per cent. Besides the Branch Normal at Pine Bluff, maintained by the State at an annual expense of \$15,000, an institution which has graduated 236 negro men and women in the thirty-eight years of its useful history, and six splendid negro high schools at Fort Smith, Helena, Hot Springs, Little Rock, and Pine Bluff, there are six denominational high schools and colleges in Arkansas that are giving the negroes an academic education and practical instruction in manual training, domestic science, practical carpentry, and scientific agriculture. These facts tell the story of praiseworthy sacrifice, frugality, struggle, and aspiration.

The amount devoted to negro education in the South for the forty years ending with the academic session 1910-11 is



approximately \$166,000,000. Of this amount, the negro is beginning to pay a fair proportion, especially in North Carolina and Virginia. But the Southern white people have borne the brunt of the burden, meriting the stately eulogy of the late lamented Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris, that "the Southern white people in the organization and management of systems of public schools manifest wonderful and remarkable self-sacrifice," and also the tribute of Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook*, "While Northern benevolence has spent tens of thousands in the South to educate the negroes, Southern patriotism has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for the same purpose. This has been done voluntarily and without aid from the Federal Government."

The South as a whole has appreciated the truth of the six axioms in the program of negro education so admirably set forth by Dr. W. S. Sutton, of the University of Texas, in a recent bulletin, and she boldly affirms that the highest welfare of the "black child of Providence" committed to her keeping lies not in social or even political equality, but in equality of industrial opportunity and educational enlightenment. Therefore, if the dangerous and insidious movement for the segregation of the school funds between the races in proportion to the amount paid in as taxes is to be checked, the negro must awaken more keenly to the necessity of self-help, realizing that—

"Self-ease is pain. Thy only rest  
Is labor for a worthy end,  
A toil that gives with what it yields,  
And hears, while sowing outward fields,  
The harvest song of inward peace."

Closely allied to the proper solution of the problem of negro education are the practical questions of better hygienic conditions and housing, the reduction of the fearful mortality rate now devastating the race, and the prevention of disease.

At the present the death rate of the negroes is 28 per one thousand, as opposed to 15 per one thousand for the whites. The chief causes of this excessive death rate among the negroes seems to be infant mortality, scrofula, venereal troubles, consumption, and intestinal diseases. According to Hoffman, over 50 per cent of the negro children born in Richmond, Va.,

die before they are one year old. This is due primarily to sexual immorality, enfeebled constitutions of parents, and infant starvation, all of which can be reduced by teaching the negroes the elementary laws of health.

The highest medical authorities agree that the negro has a predisposition to consumption, due to his small chest expansion and the insignificant weight of his lungs, and this theory seems to be borne out by the fact that the excess of negro deaths over whites from consumption is 105 per cent in the representative Southern cities. But, however strong the influence of heredity, it is undeniable that consumption, the hookworm, and fevers of all kinds are caused in a large measure by the miserable housing conditions prevalent among the negroes. Poor housing, back alleys, no ventilation, poor ventilation, and no sunshine do much to foster diseases of all kinds.

Furthermore, people can not be moral as long as they are herded together like cattle without privacy or decency. If a mother, a father, three grown daughters, and men boarders have to sleep in two small rooms, as is frequently the case, we must expect lack of modesty, promiscuity, illegitimacy, and sexual diseases. It is plainly our duty to preach the gospel of hygienic evangelism to our unfortunate "neighbors in black," for the Ciceronian maxim, "*Mens sana in corpore sano*," is fundamental in education. Certainly he who is instrumental in causing the negro to build two and three-room houses where only a one-room shack stood before, and to construct one sleeping porch where none was before, deserves more at the hands of his fellow man than the whole race of demagogues put together.

Economic progress has been the handmaid of educational enlightenment in the improvement of the negro. Indeed, to the negro the South owes a debt of real gratitude for her rapid agricultural growth, and in no less degree does every true son of the South owe the negro a debt of gratitude for his unselfishness, his faithfulness, and his devotion to the white people of Dixieland, not only during the dark and bloody days of the Civil War, but during the trying days of our industrial and political renaissance.



To the negro, either as an independent owner, tenant, or laborer, we partly owe the increase in the number of our farms from 504,000 in 1860 to over 2,000,000, at the present time; the increase in our farm values from \$2,048,000, in 1860 to \$4,500,000, at the present time; the decrease in the size of our farm unit from 321 acres in 1860 to 84 acres at the present time.

However, there are four well-defined retarding forces to the fullest economic development of the negro in the South, and to these evils this Commission should give thoughtful and earnest consideration: the tenant system, the one-crop system, the abuse of the credit system, and rural isolation. I believe that industrial education, teaching the negro the lessons of the nobility of toil, the value of thrift and honesty, the advantages attaching to the division of labor and the diversification of industry and the dangers lurking in the seductive credit system, will prove an effective panacea for these self-evident evils.

As an American citizen the negro is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and the equal protection of our laws for the safeguarding of these inalienable rights. The regulation of suffrage in the South, as well as in the North, is and always will be determined by the principle of expediency. But none but the most prejudiced negro-hater, who oftentimes goes to the extreme of denying that any black man can have a white soul, would controvert the proposition that in the administration of quasi-public utilities and courts of justice the negro is entitled to the fair and equal protection of the law. Separate coach laws are wise, but discriminations in service are wrong.

If "law hath her seat in the bosom of God and her voice in the harmony of the world, all things paying obeisance to her, the greatest as not exempt from her power and the least as feeling her protecting care," if

"Sovereign law, the State's collected will,  
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill,"

then the meanest negro on a Southern plantation is entitled to the same consideration in the administration of justice as the proudest scion of a cultured Cavalier.

It is, indeed, a travesty on Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence to send a negro to the penitentiary for a term of eighteen years for selling a gallon of whiskey in violation of law and at the same time allow scores of white murderers to go unpunished, as was recently stated to be a fact by the Governor of a Southern State. Even if it be only theoretically true that "all people are created free and equal," it is undeniably true that he is entitled to the equal protection of our laws and to the rights safeguarded for every American citizen under the beneficent provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

If I may use the eloquent words of the golden-tongued and clear-visioned Bishop Charles B. Galloway, "The race problem is no question for small politicians, but for broad-minded, patriotic statesmen. It is not for non-resident theorists, but for clear-visioned humanitarians. All our dealings with the negro should be in the spirit of the Man of Galilee."

The task that is now confronting this Commission on the Race Question, which is composed of Southern white men who are representing the Universities of the South, is Atlean in its magnitude and fraught with tremendous significance. I believe that ours is a noble mission, that of discussing the ways and means of bettering the religious, educational, hygienic, economic, and civic condition of an inferior race. I believe that by preaching the gospel of industrial education to the whites and the negroes alike, we can develop a stronger consciousness of social responsibility. I believe that by the recognition of the fact that in the negro are to be found the essential elements of human nature, capable of conscious evolution through education and economic and religious betterment, we will be led at last to a conception of a world unity, whose Author and Finisher is God.

Let us, then, have a just conception of the dignity of our mission, and in dreaming of our ideals for the improvement of a wonderful race let each of us resolve in his heart of hearts with the sailor-poet:

"I am tired of sailing my little bark

Far inside the harbor bar;

I want to be out where the great ships float,

I want to be out where the great ones are.



And I am not content to abide  
Where only the ripples come and go;  
I must mount the crest of the waves outside,  
Or breathless plunge into the trough below.

And if my little bark should prove too frail  
For the winds that sweep the wide sea o'er,  
Better go down in the deathless strife  
Than drowse to death by the sheltered shore."

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## THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE NEGRO

PROFESSOR WILLIAM M. HUNLEY, PH.D., UNIVERSITY OF  
VIRGINIA

I SHALL not attempt a comprehensive discussion of the economic status of the negro. That were impossible of accomplishment in the brief time allotted me. Nor shall I weary you with more statistics than absolutely necessary, chiefly because I fear there may be many present who agree with O. Henry, that "statistics is the lowest form of information."

My purpose is simply to sketch in outline, from the economic point of view, the condition of the negro as we find him to-day and to suggest, if possible, the line along which we should think and work in our efforts to improve that condition.

The economic point of view is the distinctive Southern attitude in the matter of improvement of race conditions. We aim to elevate the negro economically in the belief that, by this means, he will become a better citizen. In other parts of the country the aim seems to be just the opposite—viz., to give the negro certain social and political advantages which he now lacks in the belief that, possessing those advantages, he will attain a higher level of efficiency and will become, therefore, a better citizen. Thus we all strive to reach the same end, but by different routes. The industrial route seems to me to be the better.

The present economic status of the negro shows marvelous advancement and holds great promise. A little pamphlet, "Fifty Years of Negro Progress," by Monroe N. Work, came

to my desk as I was preparing this paper. The part referring to certain economic phases of the question is so much better than anything I had set down that I tore up several pages of notes and decided to take the liberty of quoting from this pamphlet a few paragraphs:

"In 1803 there were 3,960,000 slaves in the South. Their value was approximately \$2,000,000,000, or about \$500 each. At the present time about this same number of negroes in the South are engaged in various gainful occupations. Their economic value is approximately \$2,500 each, and their total value as an asset of the South is ten billion dollars.

"Fifty years ago, with the exception of a few carpenters, blacksmiths, and masons, practically all the negroes in the South were agricultural workers. Freedom gave them an opportunity to engage in all sorts of occupations. The census reports show that there are now very few, if any, pursuits followed by whites in which there are not some negroes. There are over 50,000 in the professions—teachers, preachers, laymen, doctors, dentists, editors, etc. There are some 30,000 engaged in business of various sorts. Fifty years ago there were in the South no negro architects, electricians, photographers, druggists, pharmacists, dentists, physicians, or surgeons; no negro owners of mines, cotton mills, dry-goods stores, insurance companies, publishing houses, or theaters; no wholesale merchants, no newspapers or editors, no undertakers, no real estate dealers, and no hospitals managed by negroes. In 1913 there are negroes managing all the above kinds of enterprises. They are editing 400 newspapers and periodicals. They own 100 insurance companies, 300 drug stores, and more than 20,000 grocery and other stores. There are 300,000 or more negroes working in the trades and in other occupations requiring skill—blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinetmakers, masons, miners, engineers, iron and steel workers, factory operators, printers, lithographers, engravers, gold and silver workers, tool and cutlery makers, etc.

"Fifty years ago it was unlawful for a negro to be employed in the postal service; for, in 1810, when the Post Office Department was organized, it was enacted that, under a penalty of \$50, 'No other than a free white person shall



be employed in carrying the mail of the United States either as post rider or driver of a carriage carrying the mail.' There are now more than 3,950 colored persons in the government postal service. Altogether there are now over 22,440 negroes in the employ of the United States government.

"Fifty years ago it was unlawful to issue a patent to a slave, and the Attorney-General of the United States had just ruled that, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, patents might still be issued to free persons of color. Since that time about 1,000 patents have been granted to negroes. These inventions have mostly been mechanical appliances and labor-saving devices. Some of the things which negroes have invented during the past year are a telephone register, a hydraulic scrubbing brush, a weight motor for running machinery, aëroplanes, an automatic car switch, and an automatic feed attachment for adding machines.

"In 1863 it was not in the imagination of the most optimistic that, within fifty years, negroes would be making good in the field of finance, be receiving rating in the financial world, or be successful operators of banks. When in 1888 the Legislature of Virginia was asked to grant a charter for a negro bank, the request was at first treated as a joke. There are now twelve negro banks in that State and sixty-four in the entire country. They are capitalized at about \$1,600,000. They do an annual business of about \$20,000,000. One of the strongest of these banks, the Alabama Penny Savings Bank, of Birmingham, at the close of business August 20, 1912, had resources amounting to \$477,000."

In concluding a most interesting and stimulating survey, the author says:

"During the past fifty years there has been a rapid increase in the wealth of the negroes of the South. This increase has been especially marked in the past ten years, during which time the value of domestic animals which they own increased from \$85,216,337 to \$177,273,785, or 107 per cent; poultry from \$3,788,792 to \$5,133,756, or 35 per cent; implements and machinery from \$18,586,225 to \$36,861,418, or 98 per cent; land and buildings from \$69,636,420 to \$273,501,665, or 293 per cent.

"In 1863 the total wealth of the negroes of this country was about \$20,000,000. Now their total wealth is over \$700,000,000. No other emancipated people have made so great a progress in so short a time. The Russian serfs were emancipated in 1861. Fifty years later, it was found that 14,000,000 of them had accumulated about \$500,000,000 worth of property, or about \$36 per capita, an average of \$200 per family. Fifty years after their emancipation only about 30 per cent of the Russian peasants were able to read and write. After fifty years of freedom the ten million negroes in the United States have accumulated over \$700,000,000 worth of property, or about \$70 per capita, which is an average of \$350 per family. After fifty years of freedom 70 per cent of them have acquired some education in books."

Such a picture as that is surely good cause for pride and an eloquent assurance as to the future.

The most remarkable strides have been made in agricultural pursuits. It will suffice for me to call your attention to certain facts and figures contained in the 1910 census reports. According to these reports, there are in the South approximately two and one-third million negro farm workers. Of these, about one and one-third million are farm laborers and 890,141 are farmers owning or renting their farms. Thomas Jesse Jones points out that it is significant of the interest of the colored race in farming that, while the colored population increased only 10 per cent, the colored farmers increased 20 per cent. The white population, on the other hand, with an increase of 24.4 per cent, added to their farmers only 18 per cent.

Furthermore, colored farm owners increased in every Southern State. Even in Louisiana, where colored farmers decreased, colored owners increased from 9,378 in 1900 to 10,725 in 1910. The astounding advance of the negro in fifty years is strikingly seen in the fact that in Virginia 67 per cent of the colored farmers own their farms.

I quote Dr. Jones's summary of his analysis of the 1910 census, even at the risk of having you think I have forgotten my tentative promise about quoting statistics:



"Negro farm laborers and negro farmers of the South cultivate farms whose area is approximately 100,000,000 acres. Negro farmers cultivate 42,500,000 acres of Southern land. Forty per cent of all agricultural workers in the South are negroes. There are in the South approximately two and a third million negro agricultural workers, of whom almost one and a half million are farm laborers and 890,000 are farmers owning or renting their farms. Of the 890,000 negro farmers in the South, 218,000, or 25 per cent, are owners. Negro farm owners of the South own and cultivate 15,702,579 acres which they have acquired in less than fifty years. Add to this sum the land owned by the negroes of the North, and the total land ownership of the negroes of the United States undoubtedly aggregates 20,000,000 acres in 1910. The total value of land and buildings on farms owned or rented by the colored farmers of the South is almost a billion dollars."

The three archenemies of the Southern farm life, as Professor Brough so well insists, are the tenant system in various guises, the one-crop system, and rural isolation. To these he would add the abuse of the credit system. As well we know, all of these bear far more heavily upon the negro than upon the white man.

It has been said that the typical negro is not a servant, but a farmer. He has a greater disposition to stay on the farm than has the white man. One writer states that the negro is actually land-hungry. Those of you who are familiar with the sacrifices the negro will make to buy land, the heroism and splendid spirit he displays in his effort to win a home of his own, will perhaps not marvel at the wonderful growth of the land-owning class among the colored race. And it should be borne in mind, especially in the light of certain news items that have reached us about practices in many other parts of the country, that in the South there is practically no opposition to the negro buying land. There are certain restrictions imposed in many cities, to be sure, but the big fact is that practically all over the South the negro is not hampered in his efforts to own a farm.

Marvelous development of business interests among negroes continues in the South as well as in the North. They have

made tremendous strides in many lines. Negro druggists, merchants, undertakers, bankers, coal dealers, haberdashers, insurance and real estate agents, barbers, harness makers, lawyers, hotel and restaurant proprietors, poultry dealers, publishers, miners, photographers, and laundrymen have increased in number and efficiency in the last decade to a surprising degree. In business, as in farming, the negro in the South in the main encounters no discouragement on the part of his white neighbor. On the contrary, in many instances negro merchants serve a larger number of white than of negro patrons. A notable instance is seen in Williamsburg, Va., where one of the leading merchants of the city is a negro the best part of whose patronage is drawn from white people. In Charlottesville negro barbers, mechanics, and carpenters are preferred to white artisans, by a large part of the white population.

In the banking business, as already indicated, the negro has moved ahead with mighty strides since the establishment of the first negro bank in 1888. The distrust of banks on the part of many negroes is rapidly passing away. In small towns all over the South it is found that negroes are good patrons of the banks. There are also numerous building and loan associations that do a tremendous business with negroes. Prosperous negro banks are conducted in many Southern States, notably in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The so-called "group economy" is proving an important factor in the economic progress of the negro. In some trades and in some kinds of business the negro seems to be passing away, but on close examination of conditions it is found that in these particulars he is not serving white people as extensively as formerly, but he is being patronized by members of his own race. Negro barbers, druggists, merchants, lawyers, dentists, and builders who are patronized exclusively by members of their own race are increasing constantly. In every town and city there are prosperous negro restaurants where there were none a few years ago. This indicates a great increase in wealth and general prosperity among the mass of negroes in the cities and towns, else they could not afford to support these dealers and professional men. It indicates



another and, perhaps, more important thing—namely, race pride. Where negro merchants, for example, are to be found, negroes invariably patronize them rather than white merchants.

A very important phase of the question of the economic status of the negro is, to my mind, the attitude of trade-unions toward the negro. Dr. F. E. Wolfe, of Colby College, has written a valuable monograph, recently published, called "Admission to Trade-Unions." One chapter of this volume is devoted to the question of the admission of negroes.

"The Federation of Labor," Dr. Wolfe says, "has not only discouraged the exclusion of negroes, but it has continuously promoted organizations among negroes by positive measures."

The policy of the Federation now consists of two parts, he says. First, the substantial encouragement of the formation of separate unions for colored laborers in localities where they may not otherwise become organized; and, second, the advocacy in speech and publications of the admission of negroes, subject to the final discretion of individual national unions.

In another place Dr. Wolfe says: "Negroes are engaged in considerable numbers as tobacco workers, barbers, team drivers, miners, sailors, musicians, hotel and restaurant employees, foundry workers, pavers, hod carriers, and as workers in certain of the building trades, particularly as cement workers, plasterers, slate and tile roofers, wood, wire, and metal lathers, and metal workers. The national unions within these trades . . . have actively approved and substantially supported the admission and organization of negroes,"

Many unions, he says, have approved of the organization of negroes by admitting them to membership in mixed as well as in separate local unions.

"Mixed unions," he continues, "may usually be found in any national union which charters separate negro unions, for the national pact binds each local union to accept the transferred members of another local union."

Dr. Wolfe also points out that only about twelve national unions, including the Locomotive Engineers, the Locomotive Firemen, the Switchmen, the Maintenance-of-Way Employees, the Wire Weavers, the Railroad Trainmen, the Railway Car-

men, the Railway Clerks, and the Railway and Commercial Telegraphers, persist in regarding negroes as ineligible for membership; but the number of negroes engaged in these occupations is small.

This attitude of trade-unions is an important consideration from the point of view of the negro's economic opportunity, which, of course, is a factor in his economic status.

From this meager survey it will be seen, I think, that the economic status of the negro to-day is on a solid basis and justifies high hope for the future. Certainly no "divination of statistics" could have foretold what we see to-day as we go about the South. But what of the great mass of negroes? Are they really better off now than they were fifty years ago? Are they improving economically? What can we do to help them?

In considering these questions it is well to bear in mind what Dr. Dillard emphasizes as a most important fact—namely, that the great mass of the negro population is in the South to stay for an indefinite period. In its last analysis, the negro problem is *our* problem. It is essentially a Southern problem. Therefore, what should we do to help along the economic improvement of the vast body of negroes? Any lasting improvement in the great mass must be made, not only with sympathy, but with the coöperation of the thoughtful people of the South.

In the first place, we should work to eradicate certain evils, already indicated, as the tenant and allied systems. We must encourage in every reasonable way the negro farmer, not only to stay on the farm, but to own the land, or part of the land, that he tills. In a recent communication Dr. John Lee Coulter expressed the point I wish to make very well when he said:

"The salvation of the South demands the *cultivation* of the negro. I use the word 'cultivation' here in the same sense that I would use it in agriculture. The cultivation of the morning-glory means the training of the plant and bringing it up into the most useful form. The cultivation of the negro means training the negro to be a useful person. I believe that the greatest opportunity presents itself in the South because it is very largely rural. I think that the negro should be taught



to farm better. He should be forced to do things right. I personally believe in very stringent and, it may be, very severe methods when necessary to force people to do things right. In the North Central States I have in the past advocated the strictest kinds of vagrancy laws, and would not hesitate to force either white men or negroes to serve their time sawing wood, breaking stones, building roads, or otherwise serving the community if they refuse to work as individuals, either for themselves or for other individuals. The fact that a man has \$2 in his pocket does not mean that he can not be a vagrant. If he is not employed and becomes an eyesore hanging around generally, he should be forced to work for the community as a whole unless there are such circumstances as physical defect, old age, or other good reason."

Another thing we can do, perhaps, as Professor Scroggs has said, is to increase the negro's wants. When his wants are few they are quickly satisfied. When that has been accomplished the average negro is no "busy bee" until his wants are again in the ascendency. By increasing his wants we shall greatly increase his economic value to himself and to the country.

One other suggestion occurs to me in this connection. It relates to the question of the negro and public health. The economic status of the negro has improved in a wonderful way, but the indifference of the average negro to the laws of public health and hygiene costs the South millions of dollars and makes the negro far less efficient than he would otherwise be. We should, in every way possible, endeavor to bring the negro to a realization of the value of observing the laws of sanitation and hygiene.

We must not be deceived by statistics. The negro as a race has made vast strides in economic betterment in the last fifty years—in the last decade, for that matter; but what of the great mass of negroes? Have they improved? Are they really improving? I firmly believe they are, slowly but surely. Our duty is to urge the thoughtful people of the South to take an active interest in the welfare of the negro, not only for the good of the negro, but for the continued prosperity and well-being of our country.

## THE NEGRO WORKING OUT HIS OWN SALVATION

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CAROLINA

NEGRO FARM OWNERSHIP: THE FACTS AND THEIR  
SIGNIFICANCE

*I. The Facts*

1. At present the drift of negro population in the South is distinctly countryward.

During the last census period our negro population in general increased barely 10 per cent, but our negro farm population increased more than 20 per cent. Just the reverse tendency is true among the whites of every Southern State except Kentucky.

In 1910 in the South the ratio of negro farm workers runs far ahead of negro population in general. For instance, in South Carolina the negroes are 55 per cent of the population, but 68 per cent of the farm workers. In Georgia they are 45 per cent of the population, but 53 per cent of the farm workers; in Alabama 42 per cent of the population, but 54 per cent of the farm workers; in Louisiana 43 per cent of the population, but 64 per cent of the farm workers; in Mississippi 66 per cent of the population, but 69 per cent of the farm workers. The negroes are 30 per cent of our Southern population, but they are 40 per cent of all the persons engaged in agricultural pursuits.

In Mississippi during the last census period negro farmers increased at a rate nearly two and a half times greater than the rate of increase for negro population in general, and in Georgia at a rate of nearly three and a half times greater.

In every State of the South except Arkansas and Oklahoma the negro is a dwindling ratio of population in general, but he is an increasing ratio of population in the farm regions, Louisiana alone excepted.

2. On the other hand, the negro is a decreasing ratio of population in the cities of the South.



In 1900 thirty-three Southern cities, each containing twenty-five thousand or more inhabitants, had a negro population amounting to 10 per cent or more. During the following census period in all of these cities, except Fort Worth, negro population lagged behind the rates of white increase—in some of them far behind; as, for instance, in Atlanta and Macon. In others there was an actual loss of negro population.

Between 1865 and 1880 the towns and cities of the South seemed in fair way of being overrun and overwhelmed by the negroes. In 1910 it becomes evident that the negro is resisting the lure of city life and sticking to the farm better than the Southern white man.

Some fifty thousand negroes are engaged in the various professions, mainly teaching, preaching, medicine, and law; some thirty thousand more are engaged in various business enterprises—some of them with conspicuous success and distinction. But here, all told, are fewer than a hundred thousand upward-moving negroes.

On the other hand, two and a third million negroes are engaged in agricultural pursuits as day laborers, tenants, and owners. With their families, they represent more than four-fifths of their race in the South, and they cultivate a hundred million acres of our farm land, or two-thirds of our total improved acreage.

3. The negro, then, is wisely choosing or blindly moving to work out his own salvation as a race, not in city but in country civilization.

In the farm regions he is achieving a new economic status. He is rapidly rising out of farm tenancy into farm ownership. In a large way he is coming to be a landed proprietor. During their first twenty years of freedom the negroes made little headway in land ownership. They were absorbed either in politics or in religion, and this is particularly true of the leaders. The constructive achievements of the race were most marked in the direction of church-building and church organizations.

But during the last thirty years the negroes of the South have come to feel that bank books and barns are more important than ballot boxes. At all events they appear in the 1910

census not as farm workers or farm tenants merely, but as farm owners in large numbers.

Nearly one-fourth of all the negro farmers in the South own the farms they cultivate. In Florida they own nearly one-half of them, in Kentucky and Oklahoma more than one-half of them, in Maryland and Virginia more than three-fifths of them, and in West Virginia nearly four-fifths of them. In less than fifty years the negro has acquired possession of twenty million acres of farm land. Altogether his farm properties are valued at nearly \$500,000,000. Negro land-holdings in the aggregate make an area a little larger than the State of South Carolina. The Russian serfs, after fifty years of freedom, have not made greater headway. They have not done so well indeed in their conquest of illiteracy.

True, cropping and share tenancy are increasing in the South faster than cash or standing-rent tenancy with its larger measure of independent self-direction—nearly seven times as fast during the last census period. But wherever land is abundant or labor scarce or white farmers are moving out, the negro rises out of share tenancy into cash tenancy and out of cash tenancy into ownership.

During the last census period the negroes of the South increased less than 10 per cent in population, but they increased 17 per cent in the ownership of farms against a 12 per cent increase of white farm owners. In Mississippi, Alabama, and North Carolina the farms cultivated by white owners increased only 9 per cent, but the farms cultivated by negro owners increased 19, 21, and 22 per cent in the order named. In Arkansas, while white farm owners increased 8 per cent, negro farm owners increased nearly 23 per cent. In Georgia the white farm owners increased only 7 per cent, but the negro farm owners increased 38 per cent. Even in Louisiana, where there was an actual loss of negro farm population, there was an increase of 14 per cent in the number of negro farm owners.

In 283 counties, or nearly one-third of all the counties of ten Southern States, the negroes are in a majority. In sixty-one of these counties negro farm owners outnumber the white farm owners. This is true of five counties in Georgia, six



in Oklahoma, eight in Arkansas, eleven in Mississippi, and seventeen in Virginia.

The negro farmer now owns \$37,000,000 worth of farm implements and tools, \$177,000,000 worth of farm animals, \$273,000,000 worth of farm lands and buildings. During the last ten years he has nearly doubled his wealth in farm implements, more than doubled his wealth in farm animals, and nearly trebled his wealth in farm land and buildings.

In Georgia, in 1910, the farms cultivated by white owners numbered 82,930, an increase of 5,776, or 7 per cent during the ten years. The farms cultivated by negro owners numbered 15,700, an increase of 4,324, or 38 per cent during this period. The rate of negro increase in farm ownership in Georgia is more than five times the rate of white increase during the last census period.

In 1880 Georgia negroes owned 580,664 acres of farm land, but in 1910 they owned 1,607,970 acres. It is nearly a three-fold increase during the thirty years. Negro property upon the tax digests of Georgia now amount to \$34,000,000. Three-fourths of it is country property. Their gains in property ownership in the rural regions of Georgia are amazing, but they appear so uniformly on our tax digests that they have ceased to be surprising.

Here, for instance, is one of the sixty-six counties in the black horseshoe belt of the State. The negroes outnumber the whites more than four to one. In 1910 they owned nearly one-tenth of all the farm land, nearly one-third of the plantation and mechanical tools, more than one-third of all the household goods and utensils, nearly one-half of all the farm animals, and one-sixth of the total aggregate wealth of the county.

In another county there are 1,148 negro farm owners. They outnumber the white farm owners nearly three to one. In the census year only twelve mortgages were recorded against the negro farms of this county.

In an adjoining county four-fifths of all the farms cultivated by owners are cultivated by negro owners. In the census year there were no mortgages whatsoever on negro farms in this county.

In my county in 1910 they owned 8,283 acres of land; in one district more than one-fourth and in another nearly one-third of all the farm land. In all, 957 negroes in the county, or more than one in every three males of voting age, are home or farm owners.

Where they are thinly scattered among white majorities, they make even more astonishing gains. For instance, here is a county in which the negroes own 15,146 acres of land. Their gain in the ownership of farm animals in ten years was 291 per cent; in plantation and mechanical tools, 497 per cent; and in aggregate wealth, 310 per cent.

In the white belt is another county where the whites outnumber the negroes nearly two to one. But the gain by negroes in the ownership of plantation and mechanical tools during the census period was 376 per cent; in farm animals, 226 per cent; in total aggregate wealth, 230 per cent.

## *II. Their Significance*

Here, then, in brief are the facts concerning negro farm and home ownership in the South. They show that the negro is a dwindling ratio of population in every Southern State except Arkansas and Oklahoma; that he is a decreasing ratio of population in the cities of the South; but that he is an increasing ratio of population in the farm regions of every Southern State except Louisiana. They show in every Southern State without exception that the negroes are increasing in farm ownership at a greater rate than the whites; indeed, at rates varying all the way from two and a half to five and a half times the rates of white increase in farm ownership. Of course, their farm holdings are small and their total acreage relatively little; but assuredly they are getting what Uncle Remus calls a "toe-holt" in the soil.

1. *The Negro Works Out His Own Salvation Under Racial Law.*—The Southern negro, then, is working out his own salvation, not in terms of politics, not in terms of formal education, but in terms of property ownership; and mainly in terms of land in the rural regions. He is doing this without let or hindrance in the South, largely aside from the awareness of the whites, largely because of their indifference, but even



more largely with the sympathy and help of his white friends and neighbors. He is lifting himself up by tugging at his own boot straps, a figure commonly used to indicate an impossible something; but in civilization, as in education, it is the only possible means of elevation.

The negro is emerging from jungleism and winning civilization mainly and necessarily by his own efforts. He is coming out of darkness into light in accord with, and in obedience to, the laws of development. His progress every inch of the way is marked by struggle—struggle within himself for mastery over himself, and struggle with outward, untoward surrounding circumstances.

His real successes are achieved by himself. They can not be thrust upon him by another. He can not be coddled into civilization by an overplus of sympathy from friends far or near, North or South. We have tried to civilize the Indian with reservations and free rations, and we have failed.

The negro as a race will never stand really possessed of anything that he does not win worthily by himself and for himself. His gains in property ownership, position, influence, and prominence in economic and civic freedom will keep steady pace with racial efficiency. His destiny will be wrought out in terms biologic, economic, and social; and, as usual, in dumb, blind struggle for self-defensive adjustment to surrounding conditions.

2. *The Laws of Racial Development* have something like the steady, fateful pull and power of gravitation or any other natural law. These laws can be discovered and manipulated to accelerate or retard progress, just as all the laws of nature can be discovered and harnessed for constructive or destructive purposes. They can be recognized and applied as the laws of electricity have been recognized and applied. They can not be invented and willed into operation by individual bumptiousness or legislative blindness.

The negro problem will not be solved by editorials, creeds, or statutes; by conferences, congresses, or assemblies; by pride, prejudice, or passion.

The development of the negro can be stimulated, safeguarded, and directed wisely and beneficently. The asperities of natural law can be softened. The stream of tendencies can be kept

clear of injustice and cruelty, brutality and inhumanity; and it will be so if we have any Christianity worth the name.

3. *His Chance Is in the Country.*—The way of salvation for the negro is not along the paved highways of city civilization.

Whether or not there be any definite racial recognition of this fact, it is nevertheless true that during the last census period there was a steady drift of negroes out of Southern cities into farm regions.

The modern city is everywhere a challenge to the civilization of any people, black or white. Under urban conditions the breath of man seems to be fatal to his fellows, but most of all fatal to the negro. Here he finds the struggle for existence fiercest. Here the forces of life most rapidly eliminate the weak and unfit. Here physical and moral diseases most rapidly work destructive results upon the race.

The death rate of negroes decreased during the last census period, but in the registration area it is still 60 per cent higher than the death rate of the whites; 66 per cent higher in Atlanta and Richmond, 77 per cent higher in Birmingham and Baltimore, 89 per cent higher in New Orleans, and 107 per cent higher in Charleston. In only one city of America, San Antonio, Tex., is the death rate of negroes lower than the death rate of whites.

In Washington City the death rate of negro infants from all diseases is from two and a half to nearly four times that of white infants; while the death rate of negro infants from tuberculosis is nearly four and a half times the death rate of white infants from this disease.

This disproportionate death rate among negroes is not entirely explainable in terms of race alone. They herd in slums in the cities North and South because they are poor. As a rule, sanitary conditions in these slums beggar description.

4. *He Wages a Losing Battle in the Cities.*—But also in the cities, North and South alike, there is a decreasing range and variety of industrial opportunities for the negro.

The barber shops, the shoe-shine parlors, the shoe-mending shops, the delivery and sale of newspapers, the waiting in hotels and restaurants, and even domestic service in the homes



are steadily passing out of the hands of the city negro everywhere. The same thing is true of building and repair trades of all sorts. He may be serving his own race more in these capacities, but he is certainly everywhere serving the white race less.

In the cities the negro as a race is waging a losing battle. The ravages of drink and drug evils, the vices and diseases of the slums make swift and certain inroads upon the race as a whole in the congested centers of our population.

5. *The Battle of Standards.*—It would be beyond reason to expect a belated people in any large racial way to succeed upon the highest levels of competition. His chances of progress are upon the lower levels, where life is less intense, the struggle for existence less desperate, and surrounding circumstances more propitious and helpful.

The negro's chance is the countryside. Here he succeeds and achieves a new economic status for the race.

It is everywhere true, that lower standards of living prevail over and gradually displace higher standards of living wherever the higher standards are weakened by luxurious wants and undefended by increasing energy and skill. This social law is operative in the lower rounds of industry as well as in the simple life of the farm regions. The foreigner, for instance, displaces the native whites in the mills and on the farms of New England. In the South the immense gains of the negro in farm ownership is an apt illustration of this law.

6. *He Wages a Winning Battle in the Farm Regions.*—The open country needs him as a farm worker. It holds out beckoning hands to him. The countryside has no slums. Fresh air, unmixed sunshine, and pure water are abundant. Fuel is everywhere plentiful. Nobody ever heard of a country negro's freezing or starving to death or even suffering for the necessities of life in the rural South. In the country there are fewer temptations to irregularities of living. He sleeps more and works harder. He is less tempted into dissipation and vice. His home life is cleaner and wholesomer. His children are closer to him and under better oversight. Family life is less apt to be disrupted by immoralities or

desertion. He easily saves money and gets ahead in the world somewhat. The negro is waging a winning battle in the farm regions. He may be destined for the present to lose out everywhere else, but he is rising into a new economic level in the open country.

7. *His Civilization Begins in the Home-Owning Instinct.*—Negro civilization begins, then, as all other civilizations have begun—in the home-owning, home-loving, home-defending instinct, in the pride, the industry, the thrift, and the sense of law and order that are peculiarly bred in people by land ownership. It is difficult to civilize a landless, homeless people; sojourners, pilgrims, and strangers in the land, foot-loose and free to wander at sweet will and pleasure; without abiding interest in the schools and Churches of the community, in law and order, peace and progress.

It is the landless, homeless condition of the people of Mexico that makes Mexican civilization such a puzzling, baffling problem. The State despairs of civic stability for them, and the Church well-nigh despairs of salvation for them. Peonage, both economic and spiritual, is their inevitable lot until they have a stake in the land. In the nature of things freedom arises out of land ownership. "The land is the man," said the early Saxons; "no land, no man."

There is little hope in any country for vagrant tenants, black or white. A little more than a hundred thousand of the negro farmers of Georgia are tenants. Fifty-one per cent of them flit every year into new fields and pastures green. They drift into the lumber camps, into and out of the railway gangs, into the slum quarters of the cities and out again.

Real progress in the civilization of this race lies with the home and farm owners. They are tethered by property ownership. They are steadied by self-denial, industry, thrift, and a sense of personal worth; and by the same cords they are bound to law and order. They develop the qualities and virtues of citizenship. They think twice before yielding to criminal impulse. In home and farm ownership they give hostages to society.

Land ownership sharpens the negro's wits, clarifies his vision, and supports his conscience. He becomes an efficient moral and social police against the idle and vicious of his own race.



Widespread land ownership among the negroes would cure vagrancy as no legislation can ever do. Everywhere, among all peoples, patriotism is rooted in the soil and is nourished by it.

8. *Loses Faith in Spelling Books; Gains Faith in Pocket-books.*—It is not without significance that the enrollment and attendance of negro children in schools everywhere lag behind the enrollment and attendance of white children. This is true not only in the South but in the North and West, where ample school facilities, long terms, and splendid opportunities are freely open to them. The simple truth is, the negro is getting over the first flush of the notion I heard voiced ten years ago in my own home by the cook. She jumped on her little granddaughter in the shade of the back yard, saying, "You fool nigger, you better study dat jogfry lesson eff'n you ever 'spect to be a lady like Miss Edie."

He is losing faith in spelling books and gaining faith in pocketbooks, just as he has lost faith in ballot boxes and gained faith in bank accounts. In Georgia barely more than two-thirds of the negro children are registered in the schools for so much as a single day during the year; and only a little more than one-third of them are in average attendance. That is to say, practically two-thirds of the negro children of school age are out of school the year round. It is rather to the credit of the negroes that they turn indifferently away from the disgraceful negro schools in the country regions of the South.

Dumbly, blindly, and gropingly they are basing their progress, not on formal education, but upon the discipline of mind and body, disposition and character involved in the acquisition of property. Home and farm ownership calls for industry, steady and persistent; for self-denial and the sense of futurity out of which the capital of the business world has always been created. It calls for the prompt doing of things that ought to be done whether they want to do them or not. It calls for the weighing of remoter, greater satisfactions over against the pleasures and satisfactions of the moment. It calls for self-propulsion, self-compulsion, and severe self-inflicted discipline.

These are lessons learned only in the school of hard experience. They are jewels plucked only from the toad's head of adversity. They are developed in a race only by struggle

upward through long periods of time. Here is industrial education that counts. It is education, not in languages, but in realities, in the things and affairs of life, by the goad of lively ambition or pinching necessity.

The tree of knowledge is best watered by the sweat of labor. Life is subdued by dyeing one's hands with the stuff itself. Doing precedes knowing as certainly in civilization as in religion. Doing something, having something, knowing something, and being somebody is a necessary order of development for individuals and races alike. Knowing by doing is a fundamental law of pedagogy. It is also a fundamental law of race progress. An illiterate home and farm owner is a far more worthful man and citizen and really is far better educated than the man who speaks many languages and is ignorant in them all.

9. *Black Skins; White Characters.*—Out of property ownership comes a certain sense of personal worth and dignity, and a sure realization of the force and driving power of character. One of my earliest recollections concerns a young coal-black negro in North Carolina winning his spurs in a great speech before a great audience of both races. He daringly stood for the right as he saw it, in opposition to the overwhelming sentiment of his people. He was fighting a great enemy and curse to his race, the drink evil. When Price was cut down by untimely death, he was laid away with distinguished honors. Four of the pallbearers were black and four of them were white, the Chief Justice of the State among them.

Upon another occasion I heard the Monday program of a Southern Chautauqua publicly adjourned to do honor to a negro. The stores of the little city were closed and apparently everybody, black and white, was in attendance upon the funeral. He was a prosperous negro farmer in the county, whose account was sought by every merchant in the city, whose word was as good as his bond, whose advice and counsel to his people were always sane and safe. Always he stood as a breakwater against lawlessness and disorder of every description. Again the pallbearers were both white and black, and Frank Hill was laid away with a distinct sense of loss on the part of the entire community.



10. *The Need for Non-Partisan Studies.*—Negro farm ownership in 283 (or nearly one-third) of the cotton belt counties in which the negroes are densely massed is one problem. Farm ownership among negroes thinly scattered in white counties among white majorities is another problem. In one case negro property owners manifestly yield to the upward pull of the surrounding superior mass. Here they certainly acquire ownership with accelerated rapidity, and with advantage to themselves and the community at large. In the other case, negro farm owners are thinly scattered in black counties among black majorities. Do they yield to the downward pull of the surrounding, inferior mass of shiftless, thriftless negroes? Is negro life in these counties slipping back into savagery?

The answer calls for complete acquaintance with the facts. There are now many negro communities that are working out their salvation under conditions more or less sequestered. In Louisa County, Virginia, the negroes own fifty-three thousand acres of land; in Liberty County, Georgia, fifty-five thousand acres; in Macon County, Alabama, sixty-one thousand acres. In Beaufort County, South Carolina, negro farm owners outnumber white farm owners seventeen to one. Negro civilization in these counties is at hand for investigation under a dry light. Mound Bayou, Miss., Boley, Okla., Tuskegee, and Greenwood are centers of negro farm communities. There is abundant opportunity for direct, first-hand study by non-partisan investigators. And there is need for race studies by scientific students, in scientific ways, and in scientific spirit.

The negro has suffered from the zeal of retained attorneys for preconceived opinions; almost as much from indiscreet friends as from hostile critics. The skies ought to be cleared by impersonal, impartial acquaintance with the facts, whatever they are, concerning negro problems and progress. Many good people in the South stand hesitatingly aloof because they are insufficiently informed and honestly in doubt about what is really best for the negro and the community in which he lives.

11. *Getting Land the Beginning of Economic Wisdom.*—It seems fairly clear that neither for the negro nor for any race is well-being fully determined by physical surroundings.

Being better off does not necessarily mean being better. Home and farm ownership by the negroes is not the end of the problem, but it seems to be a necessary beginning. With all his getting, the negro is getting wisdom enough to get land, and it is at least the beginning of economic wisdom and sovereign freedom.

By virtue of home and land and other property ownership he is coming to be a civilizable, Christianizable creature. Without it his religion would always be an emotional, unrelated, unapplied frenzy. With it he stands a chance to bridge the gulf between creed and conduct, emotion and action. Is he gaining in industry, honesty, law-abidingness and comfort? Yes—to the extent that he is gaining in home and farm ownership, and not greatly otherwise.

Of course he has not always wisely used the opportunities and privileges of this new-found freedom. Neither did our Teuton forefathers in the days that followed the Reformation. Slipping the bridle of the priest, they found themselves loose in pagan meadows. They were coltish accordingly. The seventeenth century in Protestant Europe is a story of unchecked sensuality and riot, vice and viciousness, lawlessness and crime. Racial self-restraint and self-control are not speedily developed in any race, anywhere, at any time.

12. *Crumbs of Religious Instruction.*—The full significance of such religion as we really have could not have been hidden from the negro, nor could he possibly have escaped its influence. Our religion, such as it is, has wrought its effect upon him far above and beyond any conscious will and effort. The negro has made amazing gains in Church activities, religious organizations, church-building, and church property ownership of all sorts. His white friends and neighbors in the South have contributed largely to the building and support of negro churches and church enterprises. We have given building sites and money—constantly, good-naturedly, and more or less indifferently. We have laughed good-humoredly at the negro's religion. We have told many a joke about its emotional nature and its lack of relation to ethical conduct.

But—and I think I ought to say it—the spiritual well-being of the negro has not been a heavy burden of responsibility upon our souls. Of late years he has had barely more than the



crumbs of religious instruction that have fallen from our tables. For the most part we have left to the negro the cure of his own soul. We have not been full of heaviness because of his sickness. We have not been greatly disturbed because he has been sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. It may be that after a while we shall come to be concerned about the black man's soul. We can not safely exclude from our scheme of ethics or religion any creature, dumb or human, black or white, who needs our help. We are learning this fundamental lesson—slowly.

13. *The Outlook*.—Nevertheless it remains always and everlastingly true that his destiny lies not in his stars, nor in another, but in himself. The negro will work out his own salvation, and doubtless in fear and trembling. It could not be otherwise. It is a fateful law of life, economic and social, civic and spiritual.

But Paul writes it to the Philippians with unspeakable tenderness. It will be well for both races in the South if they be saturated with the spirit of this Epistle. It will be ill for both if either misses its meaning.

The negro problem will be settled upon no plane lower than the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.

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## SOCIAL AND HYGIENIC CONDITION OF THE NEGRO, AND NEEDED REFORMS

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I AM a firm believer in science and scientific methods: I appreciate the value of masses of data and statistical studies, but I do not believe in fetiches, even scientific ones, and I fear that we are now beginning to commit sins in the name of science just as formerly they were committed in the name of truth, liberty, justice, and the other cardinal virtues. It is neither science nor sense to count the leaves on a tree, or the grains of sand in a mound, or the number of times the various letters of the alphabet occur in the Bible or in Shakespeare. To do this is manifestly a waste of time and energy, and adds noth-

ing of value to our knowledge of the respective subjects. Therefore, when some sociologists raise the cry for facts, more facts, and still more facts—as if there lay some peculiar charm or virtue in the very massing of them—I fear that they have either developed a morbid craving for such things, like the miser who hoards his gold, but is afraid to spend any of it, or else in their subconsciousness they have an aversion to looking the problem squarely in the face, and hope to postpone the unpleasant day by insisting (not without some satisfaction to what they are pleased to call their true scientific spirit and proper conservatism) that we haven't enough facts as yet to warrant our attempting any practical solution of the problem. The woods are full of those whose interest in the subject is academic. Keep it on this high plane, and they are rationally and sentimentally satisfied; but suggest some definite and practical action, and their tastes and temperaments immediately compel them to withdraw. And so inertia and prejudice, in the guise of scientific caution, check for another year, at least, the advance of progress and reform.

No one, I think, would seriously argue that the present attitude of the masses toward the negro is due, in any large measure, to the lack of accurate and detailed knowledge concerning him and the various phases of his life; or that the more favorable attitude of some Southerners and Northerners is due to their possession of this knowledge. Indeed, there are numerous instances among the latter where the favorableness of the attitude has been in inverse proportion to the knowledge of the subject. The difference is due rather to difference in general culture, with its effects upon the feelings and emotions, the conscience and will, than to the possession or lack of specific information. Knowledge itself is not virtue, as Socrates thought, else there would be no discrepancy between knowing and doing. Knowledge, to be sure, is necessary; facts and figures are essential, but after a sufficient quantity of these have been gathered, we need action, moral courage, and a bit of fervor and enthusiasm to make the knowledge effective and fruitful. We need to cash in our facts, now and then, and convert them into deeds, if we are to escape the condition of the miser mentioned above. As Fichte well said: "Not merely to know, but according to



thy knowledge to do, is thy vocation." The hosts of reformers and benefactors of the race, from the Founder of Christianity and His apostles to the founders of the latest republic—these did not ask for more facts and statistics; these did not consciously or subconsciously seek excuses for procrastinating; it was sufficient for them to know in a general, yet not uncertain, way that conditions needed remedying, that they could be remedied, and forthwith they set themselves vigorously to the task of doing it. And in doing so they forever changed the facts of human history. For it should be remembered that facts are made, not found. Alter the conduct of men, and you alter the facts that affect them.

This, it seems to me, is the present-day need with respect to the negro problem. We need not more facts, valuable as these are, but more faith; not more statistics and academic studies, but more religion, more genuine religion—more faith in the brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God—actually to believe in it, as we believe that the earth revolves around the sun; and not merely subscribe to it perfunctorily on Sundays. It is good science, as well as good religion, and we need to take it seriously. Let us confess it: we need more love and sympathy and charity and the milk of human kindness when we deal with people who are different and less fortunate than ourselves; more *noblesse oblige* with those handicapped in life's struggle. And these things are not to be had upon the presentation of a few facts. They need to be cultivated and developed by constant preaching and teaching from press and pulpit and platform, in the schools and colleges and on the stump. We need missionary work, and a company of fearless missionaries who will have the high courage to teach unpopular truths to their own people and in their own communities.

I say these things, not as one who brings an indictment against his people. Far from it. I know we are a generous folk, warm-hearted, chivalric, and sympathetic; we have noble impulses and worthy ideals; we cultivate the virtues as well as the graces of enlightened society, and no people is quicker to respond to human appeals than we are. Had the slaves been taken originally to Germany, Russia, Turkey, or other foreign countries, I am sure that the most active and

eloquent champions of their "God-given and inalienable rights and privileges as human beings" would have come from our own Southern States. For we instinctly hate oppression and tyranny in whatever shape or form. And yet we do not altogether live up to this characterization in our own treatment of the negro. How shall we explain the inconsistency?

To answer this adequately would require an extended psychological analysis of race prejudice, many elements of which are older than the human race and not without their positive value in the evolution of the species. There is one element, however, which plays a very important rôle, but which has not as yet received its due recognition. I refer to the power which ideas and beliefs have over conduct. When Descartes persuaded his contemporaries that animals are mere automata, without intelligence or feeling, even the tender-hearted Malebranche could without hurt to his feelings kick the dog that was fawning on him. When belief in demoniacal possession was prevalent, excellent, God-fearing men helped to burn, stone, and drown the possessed. The belief that their ancestors were much wiser and better than they could ever hope to become had much to do with arresting the development of the Chinese for more than two thousand years. And so the illustrations might be multiplied.

I fear the attitude of many of our people toward the negro has been determined to a considerable extent by equally erroneous ideas. They have been persuaded by a generation of short-sighted, uneducated, and unscrupulous demagogues that the development and elevation of the negro is somehow incompatible with the best interests of the white men; that prosperity for the black man spells ruin for the white man; that what is good for the one is bad for the other; what is true for one is false for the other. And so this strange state of affairs has come to pass: that those traits and things we admire when possessed by ourselves and all the white world, we dislike when they appear in the negro; our virtues, when cultivated and practiced by the black man, become by some strange alchemy transformed into vices. Thus we recognize that education is a good thing, and those who strive for it are deserving of approbation and even praise. Likewise, manliness and self-respect are commendable; and ambition



and thrift and the pursuit of happiness are not to be condemned. And yet there are too many who prefer the ignorant, lazy, diseased, immoral negro—even the vicious and criminal one—to the self-respecting, progressive, property-owning, educated one.

Now it is evident that this condition can not long continue without endangering the very foundations of our civilization. Double-dealing of this sort is bound ultimately to bring bankruptcy and ruin. Hence the urgent need, as I see it, for courage, patriotism, and zeal to be spent in popular educational efforts which shall seek to bring about a change in the prevailing attitude toward the negro similar to that which Rousseau wrought, single-handed, in the field of education proper, and later in the realm of government.

Coming more closely to the subject assigned, we may observe that it is well known that the negro death rate is excessively high—almost twice that of the white—and that the diseases which exact the heaviest toll are consumption, pneumonia, scrofula, syphilis, and infantile diseases (infantile marasmus, cholera infantum, whooping cough, inanition). But the erroneous conclusion is drawn from these facts that the negro has a lower vitality or resistance power than the white, due to an inferior physical organism. Thus Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman, who has been widely quoted, writes: "The vitality of the negro may well be considered the most important phase of the so-called race problem; for it is a fact which can, and will, be demonstrated by indisputable evidence, that of all races for which statistics are obtainable, and which enter at all in the consideration of economic problems as factors, the negro shows the least power of resistance in the struggle for life." \*

Mr. Hoffman's prepossessions have patently led him to commit the fallacy of "false cause." For it is also a fact that there is more poverty among the negroes, more illiteracy and ignorance of the laws of health, modern sanitation, and personal and public hygiene; that their living quarters are inferior, their physical environment less sanitary, and that a much larger percentage of their mothers are breadwinners, which means neglect of the children, malnutrition, etc. And

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\* "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro," p. 37.

inasmuch as these are causes of disease among all peoples, the world over, why may they not account for the excessive disease and death rate among the negroes? Mr. Hoffman would hardly maintain that the larger disease and death rate of the Russian peasants, for example, half of whose children die before one year of age, or of our own factory and mill workers indicate that they possess the least power of resistance in the struggle for life.

Moreover, a comparison of the negro death rate in the different cities brings out unmistakably the relationship between the factors above mentioned and disease and death. Thus the negro death rate for Charleston, S. C., as given by the United States Census for 1900, and quoted by the Atlanta University investigators, is 46.7 per thousand population; that of Savannah, 43.4; New Orleans, 42.4; Richmond, 38.1; Norfolk, 33.8; Nashville, 32.8. Atlanta, 31.8; while Cleveland shows only 18; Columbus, 21.2; New York, 21.3; Chicago, 21.6; Indianapolis, 23.8; Boston and Buffalo, 25.5; and New Haven, which has the highest rate of the twelve Northern cities studied, 31.8. These are the crude rates, but the corrected rates make no appreciable difference in the results for comparative purposes. Again, it appears from the above-mentioned study that the death rate of the Chicago negroes is lower than that of the whites in New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Atlanta, Mobile, and Memphis; that of the Boston negroes is lower than the white rate in Charleston; and the negro rates in Philadelphia, Indianapolis, and Chicago are lower than the white rates in both Charleston and Savannah. The Savannah white infantile mortality is higher than the negro rates in Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Boston. In the Northern cities, too, the negro rates approximate more nearly the total rates than in the Southern cities. Furthermore, there has been a constant decrease in both the disease and death rates for the negroes in all the cities, both South and North, during the past thirty-five or forty years.

But why multiply figures? The negro is a human being, and modern anthropology has shown that the differences among human beings—anatomical, physiological, and mental—are insignificant as compared with their fundamental re-



semblances and identities. We shall certainly not need a negro science of medicine. The things that breed disease among the whites—poverty, ignorance, overcrowding, immorality, alcoholism, insanitary premises, neglect and malnutrition of children, etc.—will breed disease with equal facility among the negroes. And we may rest assured that the measures and remedies that prevent and cure diseases among the whites will do the same for the blacks.

And what is true of the body in this respect is also true of the mind. The conditions that make for morality or immorality, for happiness or unhappiness, for love and hate, sympathy and antipathy, kindness and cruelty, etc., among the whites accomplish the same results for the blacks. We shall not need a separate psychology for the negroes, nor a separate logic, ethics, sociology, economics; not even a separate religion or art. The laws and facts of human nature discovered by these various sciences are equally true of the colored races of man as of the white. Science knows no essential distinction, because nature knows none. And that is why, in my opinion, our problem is not nearly so difficult as it might be, or as it appears to some. We know the essential facts and conditions; we know that everything human, from culture to disease, is intercommunicable among the races of men; we know that the foundation stones upon which this universe rests are righteousness and justice, and honesty, and love; we know that injustice can not be done with impunity to the doer, that it must be paid for with compound interest and at an exorbitant rate; we know that no problem can be permanently solved unless it be solved fairly and in a generous spirit; we know that the negro is here to stay, and that our welfare and happiness and health and progress are inextricably interwoven with his—then let us teach these truths honestly and fearlessly, though not in an unwise or unpedagogical manner, to those who do not know them, especially to to-morrow's citizens. To be more specific, let me suggest that this organization might make a beginning in this direction by appointing a committee to select materials concerning the negro and his adjustment to our civilization, suitable for inclusion in our school histories, geographies, and readers; and that recommendations be made to all the Southern colleges

and universities that a course in Race Adjustment be given in their departments of Sociology and Economics. In this way, I believe, we shall most speedily and effectively rid our social system of the poisons of prejudice which are now causing so much suffering and loss to both races; and in this way we shall lay the foundation, at least, for the satisfactory solution of the problem in the future.

There remain to be made a few brief and general remarks concerning the needed reforms. All will agree, I think, that the housing of the majority of negroes is in imperative need of improvement. It is neither right nor rational to expect, to any considerable extent, good citizenship, efficiency, desire for improvement, pride, ambition, intelligence, morality, or any other desirable quality from a people who must live in shanties and hovels located in insanitary and unsightly back alleys and bottoms. We have no right to expect the physical environment which is known to exert a powerful influence upon the life and character of whites to be obligingly ineffective in the case of the negroes. Miss Ovington found in her study of the New York negro that two model tenements built by Mr. Henry Phipps in the notorious San Juan Hill district have made that particular section of it "one of the peaceful and law-abiding blocks of the city." \* A clean, attractive house and a clean street, like clean, well-kept clothes, make for morality and order and good conduct.

But not only is the average negro settlement inimical to good citizenship, using the term broadly; it is also the breeding place of contagious diseases. And this fact, no doubt, accounts to a large extent for not only the high death rate among the negroes in Southern cities, but also among the whites. We must have anti-shanty laws and public health laws, which shall prevent overcrowding and the breeding and spreading of disease and vice, for our own sakes and our children's sakes, if not for the negro's sake. Modern plumbing and sewerage are no longer luxuries for the rich; they are necessities one might almost say in inverse proportion to wealth and culture. Such laws would work no hardship upon the owners of negro houses, for it is well known that houses occupied by negroes, like those used for immoral purposes, bring

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\* "Half a Man," p. 42.



the highest rentals and rates of interest. If the negro receives less for his dollar than the white man, he retaliates, or nature retaliates for him, by making the white man turn over the excess, and some of his own for interest, to the physician and undertaker.

Selfish and humanitarian impulses combined should lead to coöperation in the establishment and support of more hospitals, asylums, orphanages, reform schools, and other institutions and agencies that minister to human needs. Some day, perhaps, we shall not even be unwilling to help support parks and playgrounds, which will make wholesome utilization of their naturally strong play impulses.

Above all, there is needed in each community a permanent Race Adjustment Committee, composed of members of both races, whose business it shall be to strive to bring about that condition so strikingly and aptly described by Booker T. Washington in his famous Atlanta Exposition address, which, by the way, would fit admirably into the reader proposed above: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

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## THE PREVALENCE OF CONTAGIOUS AND INFECTIOUS DISEASES AMONG THE NEGROES, AND THE NECESSITY OF PREVENTIVE MEASURES

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It is now easy to differentiate clearly between contagious and infectious diseases, and these terms are frequently used interchangeably. Contagious diseases are propagated by immediate contact or intervention of some other medium from the sick to the healthy. Many of the diseases commonly called contagious are also infectious—that is, they are propagated, not by direct contact, but by water, air, and food which may become infected with living germs.

With our present knowledge some diseases are simply contagious, and we can not conceive of their being transmitted by infected air or drinking water. Cholera and typhoid fever are examples of infectious diseases, neither of them being directly contagious from the sick to the well, but through other agencies. Smallpox is not only contagious but also infectious.

The germs of infection in contagious diseases may be conveyed either by inanimate objects which come in contact with the original sources of the disease or by living animals. Transmission by animals, especially insects, is now attracting a considerable amount of attention. The common house-fly, which has been for ages considered only a troublesome nuisance, is regarded as one of the most dangerous carriers of disease, especially typhoid fever. Mosquitoes are now known to be the agents by which malaria and yellow fevers are transmitted. Flies, bedbugs, spiders, and lice have been tried and pronounced guilty of acting as carriers of diseases. Rats and ground squirrels cause the spread of the bubonic plague, and a war to exterminate them is now being waged.

This is the age of preventive medicine. It is probable that more progress has been made in this direction during the last thirty years than in all of the preceding centuries. The establishment on a firm basis of the germ theory of diseases has produced a decided change in regard to both the cause and treatment of many diseases whose origin had hitherto been an unsolved mystery.

Pulmonary consumption was for ages considered a hereditary disease, but it is now known to be caused by a germ known as bacillus tuberculosis.

Diphtheria has lost many of its terrors and the mortality from this disease has been largely decreased. It has been estimated that one-half of the deaths occurring in this country might be prevented if proper precautions were observed.

In former days pulmonary consumption was a rare disease among the slave population of the South; now it is one of the most common and fatal. In the registration area of 1890 the death rate was 546 for colored to 230 for the white per 100,000. In 1900 it was 485 to 175. In the larger cities and towns of the South the death rate from consumption is



from two to four times as great as that of the whites. In Nashville in 1911 the death rate was 24-10 per cent as great.

The health of the negro is a question of vital importance to the white people of the South. The cooking, washing, nursing, and general household work is largely in their hands. The prevalence of contagious diseases among them is a menace to all with whom they may come in contact. "No man liveth unto himself and no man dieth unto himself." We are our brother's keeper.

#### CAUSES OF EXCESSIVE DEATH RATE AMONG COLORED PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH FROM CONTAGIOUS DISEASES

##### *Ignorance*

Ignorance of the laws of health is common among fairly well educated people, but among those who have had few opportunities to obtain an education it is much more prevalent. One of the most common errors is that night air is unhealthful, and that every door, window, and other opening of sleeping rooms must be tightly closed. In addition to this many cover their heads with thick blankets and comforts. It is possible that this fear of night air originated from the once common belief that malaria was more likely to attack those who were out at night or slept with open windows, little realizing that the mosquito, not night air, was the cause of malarial diseases. The healthful influence of sunlight is but little understood, and in houses that are well provided with windows they are carefully closed by shutters or thick curtains.

##### *Poverty*

1. This means that they do not know how to judiciously invest the small amount of money they have allotted them for household expenses, and that they are not properly supplied with nutritious food.

2. Insufficient and unsuitable clothing, especially warm underclothing and good shoes.

3. Lack of a proper amount of sleep. Religious exercises as well as balls and secret societies are frequently continued until late hours, and as laboring people must rise early in

the morning they have from four to five hours to sleep instead of six, seven, and eight hours.

4. They are frequently exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather and often poorly protected.

### *Environments*

The location of many of their dwellings is unhealthful. If they rent their houses, they are often situated in crowded alleys or they are compelled to occupy dark, damp basements which are badly ventilated and poorly lighted. If they are to own their own home, it is frequently impossible for them to purchase lots or houses in desirable localities. Some one has said that it is impossible for a family to be born, live, and die in one room, and be able to reach any high degree of culture or morality if they are obliged to live in such a condition. This is true of a large number of colored families.

### *Migration to Cities*

It is to be regretted that so many families who were comfortably situated in the country should flock to the cities, where the demand for unskilled labor is far less than the supply, the chance for making a comfortable living is less on account of less demand, where their sanitary surroundings are likely to be far inferior to those in the country, and where they will be exposed to all of the temptations of city life. During the last decade the colored population of the Southern cities increased a little over 20 per cent, which is 7 per cent less than the increase of the white population for the same period.

### *Superstition and Fatalism*

The voodooism of the native African, when compounded with the superstitions of the Scotch, Irish, and English, makes a curious mixture which is sometimes annoying, but oftener quite serious in its results. Good luck will come to those who have a horseshoe nailed over the door, and the left hind foot of a graveyard rabbit will bring good luck to the person who carries one about on his person. If the seventh daughter treads over the back of a person afflicted with rheumatism, a



complete cure is sure to follow. A horse-chestnut carried in the pocket will also cure the same disease. The conjure bag in the hands of an enemy is sure to produce untold evils. I was once called to treat a woman who was confined to her bed afflicted with what seemed to be some obscure disease that I was unable to diagnose, and my treatment was very unsatisfactory to both myself and the patient. Calling one day when she seemed much better, I was informed that she had found out what her trouble was. She said that she had suspected that she had been conjured, and on cutting open her pillow she found that it contained a conjure bag. After this had been taken out she began to recover, and in a short time was as well as usual. We must acknowledge that while we can not understand the power of the mind over the body in diseases we must recognize its importance.

My readers may not be aware of the fact that 1913 is an unlucky year, as it contains the number 13, and the occurrence of floods, fires, and tornadoes clearly indicates that this is true. I know of one young woman who hurried her preparations for marriage, and had the ceremony performed a few days before the beginning of this year. Every one knows that no undertaking should be begun on Friday. People of the Anglo-Saxon lineage should not be too ready to condemn the superstitions of their colored brethren when they consider the source from which many of them were derived.

I do not propose to discuss the question of fatalism from a theological standpoint, but from that of health, and it is sometimes hard to distinguish between faith and presumption. If a man thoroughly believes that he can not die until his time comes, he will be very unlikely to take the proper measures to care for health and prolong life. It would, of course, be of no use to summon a physician in case of sickness or to employ a surgeon for an operation. I was once called upon to sign a death certificate of a little girl whom I had treated. The mourning friends did not blame the attending physician, but said that he had done the best he could, that the girl's time had come to die, and all the doctors in the world could not have saved her.

*Remedies*

The practical question is, What can be done to diminish the excessive death rate now prevailing among the colored people of the South, especially in the large cities and towns?

1. Instruction in practical hygiene should be given in every public school, and teachers who are not capable of instructing their pupils in this direction should not be allowed to teach.

2. An advance course regarding the preservation of health should be made obligatory in all secondary schools, colleges, and universities, and should constitute a part of the regular course of study in such institutions.

3. Ministers should at stated intervals speak to their congregations on the subject of public health, and similar instructions might be given in Sunday schools and young people's societies.

4. In large cities and towns competent colored nurses should be employed by the public authorities to visit the homes and give advice and needed assistance to all who are threatened with or actually suffering from consumption.

5. More colored physicians should be prepared to go and administer to the wants of their people, and these physicians should coöperate with the health authorities in preventing the spread of consumption and other contagious diseases. In a number of cases a colored health officer has been appointed and has proved very effective in carrying on the work.

6. The health authorities should exert their influence and aid in every way in the suppression of everything that tends to promote the spread of these diseases.

7. Hospitals for tubercular cases ought to be established in every State for the reception of patients who may be amenable to hygienic and medical treatment. In counties where there is a large colored population there might be arrangements for the reception of patients from that county alone, or a number of counties might unite in supporting such an institution. Davidson County, Tennessee, has a model sanitarium which has proved of great benefit to the colored people of Nashville and vicinity.

8. All physicians should be required to report all suspected cases of tuberculosis, and where they do not receive the proper



attention at home they should be removed to some hospital for treatment.

The colored people should be impressed with the value of vaccination for the prevention of smallpox, and all pupils of both public and private schools should be vaccinated. The last years very clearly demonstrated the value of inoculation for the prevention of typhoid fever. This has been compulsory in the United States Army and Navy, and it now seems clearly evident that this most dreaded and fatal disease can be prevented. How soon enlightened public sentiment may demand this treatment remains yet to be seen. It does not appear that the hookworm is any more prevalent among the colored population than the white. The remedy for this disease is so simple and certain that there is no excuse for not having it applied.

In cases of diphtheria and scarlet fever a strict quarantine should be established, a competent physician called as soon as possible, and in case of death no public funeral should be allowed. Suspicious cases of sore throat should receive prompt attention, and children thus affected should not be allowed to attend public schools until they have been examined by a physician, who must decide whether the case is dangerous. The question of venereal diseases is too delicate a subject to be publicly discussed in an assemblage of this kind, but it is one that should be carefully studied by both physicians, preachers, and laymen. If the guilty persons were the only sufferers, it would give less concern, but the innocent suffer with the guilty and "the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation."

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## DESIRABLE CIVIC REFORMS IN THE TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO

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It is a noteworthy fact that in 1912, for the first time since the Civil War, the Republican national platform contained no reference to the problem of the negro. It is equally significant that the platform of the newborn Progressive party was also

silent on this subject. These omissions have been bewailed by certain types of negro leaders and also by some of their white sympathizers, but it seems to me a cause for rejoicing that Northern politicians have ceased to find it profitable at regular four-year intervals to deplore the wrongs of the black man. The race problem as a national political issue will now probably be relegated to that limbo whither Anti-Masonry, Know-Nothingism and the "bloody shirt" have already wended their way. If the politicians of the South would only follow the example of their Northern brethren and leave the race question severely alone, the country would profit still further, though a few individuals now holding high office might have to retire to private life.

The removal of the race question from partisan politics must precede any far-reaching reform in the treatment of the negro, and the sooner this is accomplished the sooner shall we be able to carry out one part of the program of this Southern Sociological Congress—"the solving of the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the negro and of equal justice to both races." If we as members of this Congress are to co-operate in promoting this spirit of equal justice, we must necessarily familiarize ourselves with the present civic status of the negro. None of us, I am sure, will have the hardihood to affirm that the negro's treatment as a member of our citizen-body is quite what it should be. In saying this I do not have in mind any criticism of that basic fact in the relations of whites and blacks, social separation. This is a phenomenon found in all ages and in all countries where members of diverse races have been brought together in anything like equal numbers. Racial solidarity has its basis in the group instinct of "consciousness of kind," and may not be lightly dismissed by certain enthusiastic doctrinaires as "senseless prejudice," and "unreasoning antipathy." "All flesh consorteth according to kind, and a man will cleave unto his like."

The Southern people have accorded the negro a large measure of civil rights. He enjoys protection of life, limb, and property; he has in the South, perhaps, a greater measure of industrial freedom than elsewhere in this country; and he can obtain at least an elementary education for the asking. But comparative well-being is not necessarily absolute well-being.



The most optimistic leaders of the race are unable to overlook the dark side of the negro's civic condition, and at times they give evidence of discouragement. Some of these disheartening aspects of the problem I shall now indicate.

1. The negro does not get equal accommodations with the whites on railway passenger trains, although he pays the same fare. The laws of the Southern States prescribe separate accommodations on trains for whites and blacks, and this principle, inasmuch as it reduces friction between the races, is for the best interests of both. Railways, however, while providing separate accommodations, have not undertaken to make these equal for both races. Some time ago I made a journey which involved travel on local trains over six different railway lines, and on only one of these did I find equal conveniences for white and black. On two trains the whites were furnished with modern vestibuled coaches, while the negro coaches were of the antiquated open-platform pattern, very dingy and much less comfortable than the cars for whites. The rear half of one of these inferior coaches served as a smoking compartment for white men, while in the forward half negro men and women, smokers and non-smokers, were herded together, with a single toilet for all. Another train carried its white passengers in a steel coach and its negro patrons in a coach of wood. When I commented upon this to a gentleman from the West, he remarked: "Well, I guess it costs the road more to kill a white man than a nigger, and so it takes extra precautions for us." On through trains with interstate passengers the accommodations for the two races are more nearly equal, though they are rarely identical.

This unfair treatment of the negro by common carriers is inexcusable. No honest Southerner would countenance a white merchant's selling his negro customers inferior goods at the same price at which he supplied his white patrons with a better article. Yet we allow our railways to do practically the same thing with impunity. Such a policy can only engender bitterness in the negro, and if persisted in it may put in jeopardy the whole principle of racial segregation in interstate travel. The Interstate Commerce Commission has already been appealed to, but without any appreciable result. The most serious discrimination is found on local trains and

on branch roads, where negro patronage is generally greatest. The remedy lies with the several states, and it should be applied as a measure of simple justice.

2. North and South the urban negro population is forced to live in poorly built, insanitary dwellings, on filthy and neglected streets, and frequently in an atmosphere permeated with vice. Abominable as his housing facilities are, the negro is compelled to pay an exorbitant rent. Southern real estate dealers will tell you that the negro shacks and cabins are among the best investments, often yielding from 15 to 20 per cent on their cash value. This, of course, is only true when the landlord exercises due diligence in collecting his rent. The negro in too many cases accepts such conditions because he wants nothing better. There can be no effective remedy save through the gradual raising of his standard of living. So long as the colored folk are content to live in squalor, the more prosperous members of the race in most communities will be forced to live with them in the same unwholesome environment.

3. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the division of the school fund the negro is not fairly treated. Politicians have won many votes by advocating that the moneys be divided in proportion to the direct contributions to the treasury by the respective races. They are either ignorant, or else they deliberately blind themselves to a fact that every student of elementary economics fully understands—namely, that the taxpayer is not always the tax-bearer. The white man pays many taxes whose burdens rest upon the black man's shoulders either wholly or in part. Whether the man who hands the money to the tax collector is white or black is a matter of minor importance. That our taxes as at present administered fall most heavily on those least able to pay is everywhere recognized, and from this it must follow that the negro, in proportion to his ability, bears a greater burden from taxation than does the white man. Professor Charles L. Coon, of North Carolina, has demonstrated that the education of the negro is no burden on the white race, at least in the states where statistics are available for determining this question. In 1914 only 58 per cent of the negro children of school age in the Southern States were enrolled in the schools, and only 37 per



cent of the total colored school population were in daily attendance. Negro teachers receive only from one-half to two-thirds of the salaries paid white teachers, and are employed for much shorter terms.

A policy of merely enlightened selfishness would cause us to give the black man a better educational opportunity. What will it profit us to spend millions in the uplift of one race if the other be left close by its side in ignorance and vice? Separate schools, like separate coaches, are a necessity; but the fair-minded citizenship of the South should exert itself to see that separation does not produce injustice.

4. Inequalities like those in the administration of the school fund are even more noticeable in the case of such municipal improvements as parks, driveways and public libraries. A few cities, like Jacksonville, Fla., New Orleans, La., and Louisville, Ky., provide library facilities for their negro citizens, but generally for these and other civic improvements like those just mentioned the black man must contribute his quota and expect little or nothing in return. North and South, nearly all the special activities for social uplift, such as settlement work, day nurseries, and fresh air funds, seem to overlook the negro, though there are some notable exceptions.

5. Intelligent and highly respectable negroes are sometimes disfranchised for no other reason than that of color. The unfitness of the race for the exercise of the suffrage at the time it was bestowed is now generally admitted. To-day the negro is disfranchised by legal restrictions based on ability to read and write, ownership of property, payment of poll tax, good character, good understanding of the constitution, and military service. The exclusion of the ignorant and propertyless from the ballot is not to be condemned if impartially enforced but the good character and good understanding clauses vest too much arbitrary power in the hands of the registration officers. Until 1915 the privilege of the suffrage in several states was given to certain classes of citizens who could claim voting ancestors, but in that year the so-called "grandfather clause" of our Southern State constitutions was annulled by a decision of the United States Supreme Court. The premium which had been placed on white illiteracy was thus removed.

There are those who would disfranchise every negro regardless of his fitness for the ballot, and their name is legion. Supported by such sentiment in their communities, registration officers have even gone to the extreme of rejecting negro college graduates while registering the most degraded of white men. The suffrage should be held before the negro as a reward of character. If our present electoral laws are properly enforced, deserving colored men can have the ballot, and there will be no injustice.

6. The negro is accorded legal, but nevertheless unequal, treatment in our courts of law. It is not that the negro is dealt with unlawfully, but that the punishment of the negro rests on a different basis from that of the white man. It is not that the negro gets more than his legal deserts, but that the white man gets less. This is due partly to racial animosity and partly to the fact that the negro has little money and very few influential friends. The poor and obscure white man in all parts of the country too often suffers in the same way. It is further claimed that a negro lawyer does not have a fair chance before a white jury when the opposing attorney is a white man, and that a negro litigant is discriminated against when his opponent and the jury are both white. Juries are sometimes loath to convict white men on the testimony of negroes, and grand juries likewise have failed to find true bills on such evidence. That the proportion of convictions is greater and the terms of sentence longer for negroes than for whites has been urged by Southern Governors in justification of their extensive use of the pardoning power. Time and again we read in the papers of the execution of "the first white man ever hanged in this county." These facts seem to indicate that the negro experiences the full rigor of the law, while in the case of the white man justice is likely to be over-tempered with mercy.

As a remedy for this condition it has been proposed that negroes should serve on juries to try members of their own race, but those who urge that the law should take no account of color must find it hard to defend such a proposition with consistency. The average Southerner demurs to this proposal because he has come to believe that there exists a kind of freemasonry among negroes that causes them to shield one



another from the consequences of their acts; but in spite of this widespread belief it has been observed that the negro himself sometimes prefers to place his fate in the hands of a white jury.

7. Finally, the negro is too frequently the victim of mob violence. With sorrow must we confess that lynching is the evil *par infamie* of the Southland. In 1916 fourteen states were disgraced by lynching atrocities, and the evil was not confined entirely to our section. Kansas and Oklahoma each furnished examples. It is no consolation, however, to know that in this respect the Southern States have some company. The most deplorable fact in connection with lynching is the wide hearing given to its defenders. The opponents of such lawlessness, who constitute practically all the enlightened people of the South, have shown a strange timidity in voicing their sentiments, while leather-lunged demagogues, posing as champions of Southern womanhood, have condoned and advocated it from one end of the continent to the other. The only ground upon which they defend lynching is that it furnishes protection to Southern women, but our statistics show that 75 per cent of our lynchings are for crimes other than the one they are supposed to avenge. Happily, the number of lynchings is slowly but surely decreasing. As compared with the black year of 1892, when there were 225, the number in 1916 was only fifty-four. Of these, twelve were for what is wrongly called "the usual crime."

The crime of lynching is undoubtedly the source of more irritation, distrust, and despair on the part of the negro than the sum total of all the other ills to which black flesh is heir. But its degrading effect is even worse upon the white man who sanctions it and upon him who joins the mob. The former is an anarchist and the latter a murderer. In the face of such prevalence of the mob spirit among the ignorant masses, why have bench and bar, preacher and teacher so long remained silent? When will Southern manhood muster sufficient courage to challenge effectively the sovereignty of the mob?

In considering remedies for these untoward conditions it is easy to say what should be done, but difficult to indicate the way to do it. Our hope lies in further education for white and black, in coöperation between the best elements of

both races, in greater publicity for those whose views are rational, and last, but not least, in the development of an infinite amount of patience. Civic progress for the negro is to be secured by educational and economic improvement rather than by political methods. His condition as a citizen will improve with his economic progress; his economic progress is dependent upon an increase of his wants; and an increase of his wants will come with better education. Where the white man is guilty of injustice no merely external reforms will suffice. Such injustice is an outward sign of a lack of inward grace. There must be a reform of men's souls. Better education, higher moral ideals, a general awakening of mind and spirit, the substitution of reason for prejudice and tradition, the socialization of religion—these are the fundamental needs of the hour. Above all, we must realize that as a race we can not live wholly unto ourselves; that if the black man is sinking we are not rising; that if he is going backward we are not going forward; and finally, that no social régime can long endure that is not founded on justice.

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## RURAL EDUCATION AND SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

JACKSON DAVIS, SOUTHERN FIELD AGENT OF THE GENERAL  
EDUCATION BOARD, RICHMOND, VA.

IN March, 1908, in Henrico County, Virginia, there sat around a table a group of men who had been invited by the County Superintendent of Schools to consider ways of improving the negro schools. A meeting of the negro teachers had just been held, the first meeting called to give them aid and encouragement. Dr. H. B. Frissell, principal of Hampton Institute, who was among the party, told of some extension work that had been done by Hampton in sending out a young woman to visit the schools of Gloucester County to help the teachers adapt their work to the needs of the children and to the home life of the people. After considerable discussion the conference ended, but there was left a precipitate of definite ideas. One was that a trained negro teacher would be very helpful to the other teachers in visiting their schools and placing more



definite plans of work before them. Another was that such a teacher might be secured who would introduce cooking and sewing and in some way help to place the life of the average negro home on a more satisfactory basis in the elemental virtues of good citizenship. The plan to engage such a teacher for the twenty-three negro schools of the county seemed good to the school board, but it was not felt that the county could afford experiments in negro education. The Jeanes Fund for Negro Rural Schools had recently been established and Dr. James H. Dillard was in charge of its administration. The situation was laid before him and he heartily approved the plan and agreed to pay the salary of the supervising industrial teacher.

The county was fortunate in securing for this work Virginia E. Randolph, who had taught a rural school in the county for thirteen years and by her devoted and tireless efforts had transformed the shabby little schoolhouse into a neatly white-washed two-room building, with attractive grounds, which served as a school, Sunday school, and center of all good work for the neighborhood. She immediately set to work to visit the negro schools, meeting the people and teachers and asking their coöperation. The people were invited to the schools, improvement leagues were organized, and soon all schools began to take on a different appearance. Simple repairs were made, rooms and windows were regularly washed, stoves were polished, walks laid off, and flowers set out in the yards. Regular periods were set aside for sewing, mat-making, cooking, and various kinds of work suggested by materials at hand.

This was the origin of what Dr. Dillard called the "Henrico Plan" of industrial training and supervision for negro rural schools, and he adopted this method very largely in administering the Jeanes Fund in the Southern States. The supervising industrial teacher is appointed by the County Superintendent and works under his direction in as many of the rural schools as may be reached. This work thus inaugurated has steadily grown both in effectiveness and extent. It was carried on in one hundred and nineteen counties in the various Southern States last year by aid of the Jeanes Fund in coöperation with county superintendents and school boards. In Virginia there were last year seventeen supervising teachers working

in eighteen counties. Five new counties have taken it up this year, one county paying half the salary of the industrial teacher and another county paying the whole salary from local funds. Almost every county makes provision for the traveling expenses of the teacher.

A brief summary of the work in these Virginia counties shows the following results: In the eighteen counties there were 469 negro schools and 299 of these were visited regularly by the 17 supervisors. The length of term ranged from five to nine months, but an average of six months was maintained by reason of the fact that 121 schools with a short term extended the term for one month. Nine new buildings were erected and twelve enlarged at a combined cost of \$6,268.15, which does not include labor and materials given. Twelve schools were painted, 69 whitewashed, 37 sanitary outhouses were built, and 102 schools used individual drinking cups. Three hundred and forty-eight improvement leagues were organized, and they raised in cash for school improvement \$13,744.16.

The entire cost of supervision in these counties was less than \$7,000, so that these teachers brought into the school funds twice the cost of their salaries and expenses. Nearly every school that was built or enlarged was the result of the efforts of the improvement leagues coöperating with the local school boards, which have dealt more liberally with the negro schools since the negroes have shown such a disposition to help themselves.

But these figures, as illuminating as they are, do not tell all the story. Back of this record of progress there is a new spirit of self-help, a new interest in the home, the farm, and the country neighborhood, and it marks the beginning of a coöperative movement for improvement in other ways. The teaching has been stronger, the attendance has increased, and the work of the schools has been more practical than ever before.

Superintendent Coggins writes of the work in Charles City County as follows:

With reference to the work in Charles City, I can say that the County School Board in its last meeting said that the results were such that



they could not think of giving it up. All the men are very much pleased and are heartily supporting it.

I can see here a new interest in home life and an effort is being generally made to make home more comfortable and beautiful. Cleanliness and politeness with industry have been emphasized with good results. A new spirit is seen among the teachers and a more earnest effort is being made to make their work mean something to the community in which they teach. The work as it is being done here is encouraging to the entire citizenship.

In most of the counties at the close of the term an exhibit is held of the industrial work done in the schools. The exhibit is usually held at the county seat or at the business center of the county. An attractive program is provided, reports of improvements at the various schools are made, and simple prizes awarded. These exhibits have been of great importance in popularizing this type of education, in encouraging the negro children, and in demonstrating to the white citizens the usefulness of this training.

The introduction of industrial work into the negro schools has not always been easy. Many of the parents object to their children doing anything at school but study and recite from books. In many cases the preacher has publicly opposed it, but more often he has joined with the supervising teacher in her efforts for the schools. In one county after the teacher began work this issue was raised, and the preacher took up the cause and urged the people to contribute funds for better schoolhouses and for equipment and material for industrial work. In his exhortation he was attacked by members of his congregation who differed from him. The issue got into the local papers and became so warm that a vote was taken asking the preacher to resign. By this time, however, the white people realized the situation and the courage of the preacher, and they with his faithful followers prevailed on the congregation to withdraw their action. To-day this preacher is a real leader in the county, with the confidence of all classes. The colored schools have made great improvement in all departments and the industrial classes are doing regular and effective work.

In other communities the opposition lasts longer. Recently I visited a school where the teacher is unable to have any regular day or period for industrial work, because if the

parents know of it they will keep their children at home on these days. In another county the teacher was speaking to a public meeting in a schoolhouse at night. In the course of her remarks she condemned the common dances and festivals which nearly always resulted in drinking and a cutting or shooting affray, and urged amusements of a different kind. This so enraged some of the young people that from the darkness outside a bottle of ink was thrown through the window at the teacher and its contents emptied on her dress. The court records show that nearly all of the negroes in the penitentiary or in jail from that county were there as a result of a cutting or shooting affray at these disorderly gatherings. Examples could be multiplied to show the courage and devotion of the supervising and industrial teachers in their contact with the ignorant masses of their race.

One of the most interesting developments of the work is the coöperation of the supervising industrial teacher with the farm demonstration agent in working during the summer months with clubs of girls in raising home gardens and canning the vegetables and fruits for winter use. At the close of the school term they organize girls' home garden clubs, visit the girls in their homes, and meet them in groups, giving them practical instructions for their gardens and teaching cooking and sewing lessons in the homes. In many ways the summer work of these teachers has proved of even greater value than their work with the schools, for they are touching directly the homes of the people and bringing about improvements there that are having a far-reaching effect. In the summer of 1911 this work was started in four counties. The gardens were cultivated with varying success, and in all the girls put up under the direction of the teachers about 1,000 glass jars of vegetables. The tabulated statement shows that some of the work accomplished in eight counties during the summer of 1912 was as follows: 267 girls in garden clubs, 202 gardens planted, 3,946 jars canned by girls and 6,006 by mothers.

A page from the report of one of the teachers indicates the character of the work:

During the month have put up 603 quarts of fruit and 68 quarts of vegetables. Total, 671. Have dried 12 pounds of apples.



During the season 769 quarts of fruit have been put up and 68 quarts of vegetables. Total, 837 quarts. The late bean and tomato crops are yet to be canned.

Two of the club girls, aged 11 and 14, made all the yeast and bread for their respective families. Another girl, aged 12 years, but who is not strong enough to make bread for her very large family, supplies her own and her next neighbor's family with yeast.

In most homes the club girls are doing the entire canning for the family and some for outsiders.

The girls learned to do those things in our summer clubs. Their mothers are very much pleased to be thus relieved of these duties. Our clubs are never at a loss for a place for next meeting. Invitations usually come two and three weeks ahead.

In the summer of 1912 I took a trip through Chesterfield County, revisiting some of the same homes that I saw on a similar trip the previous year when the work was started. Most of the homes are on small plots varying from five to twenty-five acres, and are neither painted nor whitewashed. The men work out on so-called public works or as farm hands. With poor dwellings to start with and a handicap of poverty, any improvements will necessarily be slow. The first year many of the gardens were allowed to grow up in weeds, or were destroyed by chickens or cows. In other words, the gardens were about as shiftless as the homes. All the gardens were very much better cultivated the second year and I did not see a single one that had been neglected. The chickens were either kept out by a good fence, or the garden was put far enough from the house not to be bothered by them. Practically every girl has a garden for the late fall. Over 1,700 jars of vegetables were put up, about six times as many as were put up in the whole season the first year.

I saw several homes that were rebuilt or enlarged, but as yet little or no whitewashing has been done. At one home that we visited the girl was absent, but her mother showed us a long row of jars of fruit and vegetables which she had put up, and then brought out some dried apples which she had also put up under the teacher's directions. Then she brought out some that she herself had dried in the traditional way. Her daughter's work was in every way superior, and she said that she was going to use the new method in the future.

A few days later I took a similar trip through Charles City County with the county superintendent and the industrial teacher. The negroes in Charles City are more prosperous than in Chesterfield, and the homes that we visited were on average small farms. I was struck by the fact that practically every home was neatly whitewashed, together with many of the fences and outbuildings, and that everything about the homes seemed to be in good repair. Superintendent Coggin told me that this had been very largely brought about by the teacher in the two years in which she had been working in the county. He said that negro homes of this type used to be the exception, but that now they were the rule in Charles City County. We found back yards and back porches thoroughly clean. The gardens were mostly well fenced and cultivated. The teacher's services were very much in demand by the older people who wanted to learn better ways of canning.

At one home that we visited a widow and several children were living. The father had recently died of tuberculosis. During his sickness the teacher had visited the home and shown the mother the necessary precautions to take in order to prevent the infection of the rest of the family. By her help all the sanitary measures were carried out and the other members of the family are saved from the disease.

Our trip ended at the negro cemetery, where there was a gathering to clean it up. It needed it, but the gathering was an example of neighborhood coöperation expressive of a general desire to clean up things and make the county a better place to live in as well as to die in.

These two trips convinced me of the distinct improvement over the work of the first year. It is impossible to estimate the helpfulness of the visits of these teachers to the homes of the negroes, or to value their influence on the girls who belong to the garden clubs. The girls and some of the mothers are getting a kind of education that is having a marked effect upon their homes. It meant a great deal for the teacher to get the girls and their parents in Chesterfield to take the home garden seriously—to put it where the chickens would not destroy it, or put a good fence around it, then cultivate it approximately near to exact directions. The good results have demonstrated that it pays to take care of the garden, and



in learning to do this they are learning to put more thought and skill into what has been household drudgery, but what may become household art.

I have never seen more grateful appreciation than was shown to these teachers in the homes which they have helped, except possibly that shown by the negro farmer to the demonstrator who has helped him to double his corn crop.

It will be seen that some of the teachers during the summer do much of their work with the women in their counties. The following letter has come into my hands from the Women's Home Improvement Club, which was organized by the teacher in Gloucester County. It shows both the character of the work which has been done and the interest which they have put into it:

In early spring Mrs. Isabella Smith called us together and spoke of the many things we as housekeepers might accomplish toward improving our homes, if we would organize as a club and start to work. The first suggestion was to look to the canning of vegetables and fruits. As an outcome we can safely say that more berries, vegetables, and fruits have been canned and more dried than ever before in this community.

A new inspiration has gone out from one housekeeper to another, and one seems to be vying with the other as to who will have the greatest number to report. Now that the canning season is fairly over, we are turning our attention to handicrafts. Some have started doormats, some table mats, and some picture frames. We find a great deal of pleasure in our work and feel it a blessing to have one in our midst who is capable of instructing us in so many ways.

We ask an interest in your prayers that much success may attend our efforts. We take God as our great leader.

Done by order of the W. H. I. Club.

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## THE WORK OF THE JEANES AND SLATER FUNDS

PROFESSOR B. C. CALDWELL, NATCHITOCHES, LA.

THESE organizations have the same purpose, the training of the negro youth in the Southern States. And they have the same director, the president of the Jeanes Fund being also the president of the Slater Fund, and the same offices in New York and Charlottesville, Va. They have separate, though overlapping, boards of trustees.

The Jeanes work is confined to the rural schools, and is almost entirely industrial. Most of the Slater revenue is spent for secondary and higher education, mostly normal and academic, partly vocational and industrial.

The Jeanes work, now in its fifth year, entered a new field. From the start it aimed to reach the "school in the background," the remote country school for negro children, out of sight back in the sticks, down the bayou, up in the piny woods, along the sea marsh, or out in the gullied wilderness of abandoned plantations. Nearly all these schools were taught in shabby buildings, mostly old churches; some in cabins and country stores, a few in deserted dwellings. I have seen one in Alabama taught in a sawmill shed, one in Arkansas in a dry kiln, one in Georgia in a peach-packing shed, one in Louisiana in a stranded flatboat, and one in Texas in a sheepfold.

For the most part these schools were taught by untrained teachers, without any sort of supervision. The equipment was meager, the pay smaller, and the term short. The Jeanes Fund undertook to send trained industrial teachers into this field, to help the people improve the physical conditions, and the teachers to better the instruction given.

The teachers employed in this work are trained in some kind of industrial work, domestic or vocational. Most of them teach sewing, next in number are those who teach cooking, some are graduate nurses, some truck gardeners, some laundresses, some basketmakers, some farmers and dairymen. And blacksmithing, carpentry, shoemaking, mattress-making, baking, and farming are in the list of industries taught by these teachers.

For the current year there are 120 Jeanes teachers at work in 120 counties of eleven Southern States, Maryland to Texas.\* Each teacher visits a number of the country schools, gives a lesson in some industry, plans with the regular teacher to give succeeding lessons in her absence, organizes parents' clubs, starts a movement for better school equipment or a longer term,

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\*In 1917-18 the number is 215. The increase is due to larger appropriations from the counties and to a contribution of \$15,000 from the General Education Board. In 1916-17, the county school boards contributed \$23,723; that is, about 38 per cent of the total expense.



counsels the local teacher about her daily training, and stirs the community to united efforts to better the school.

These teachers are named by the County Superintendent and are members of his teaching corps just like the other teachers, and work under his direction. In many counties this spring the industrial teacher gathered specimens of sewing, baking, basketry, chair-caning, mattresses, garden truck, carpentry, and furniture from all the schools of the county, and held exhibits at the courthouses, superintendents' offices, or other central points. Great numbers of school officials, white and colored school patrons, and teachers visited the exhibits.

The industrial teachers are graduates of Hampton, Tuskegee, Petersburg, Pratt Institute, Cheney, Fisk, Atlanta, and kindred schools. All of them are negroes. Their salaries range from \$40 to \$60, and their terms from six to nine months a year.

At the outset the entire expense of this industrial work was borne by the Jeanes Fund. After a year or two the county school boards began contributing, sometimes paying the traveling expenses of the teachers, sometimes buying sewing machines, ranges, washtubs, sometimes renting plots of ground for farm and garden work. Last year one or two counties took over the entire expense of the work, and fifteen or twenty undertook to pay half or part of the teacher's salary.

The Slater Fund from the beginning has devoted most of its means to the higher education of negro youth, mainly with the purpose of training teachers for the primary schools. But almost from the start it has contributed to public school work in town and city, with the same general end in view, devoting its entire contribution to these schools to the establishment of industrial training in public schools.

At this time more than three-fourths of the Slater money is still applied to higher and urban school work. But for two or three years past it has been experimenting with some new and promising work in the country.

Four years ago a parish superintendent in Louisiana applied to the Slater Fund for assistance in establishing a county high school for negro children. Almost at the same time a county superintendent in Arkansas, one in Virginia, and one

in Mississippi proposed substantially the same thing. It was the purpose in each case to train teachers for the schools of the county.

Trained teachers can not be had for the meager salary paid country negro teachers. And each of these superintendents hoped to get a regular and fairly good supply of teachers trained to do the work needed in that county.

Supt. A. C. Lewis, of Tangipahoa Parish, La., was the first to undertake to establish such a school. He named it the Parish Training School for Colored Children, and located it at Kentwood, a little village in the piny woods part of the parish. The parish school board furnished the teachers and equipment, the Brooks-Scanlon Lumber Co. furnished the house and ten acres of land, and the Slater Fund agreed to give \$500 a year for three years. The school is now in its second year, and promises to render valuable service to the parish.

Three similar schools have since been established: one in Newton County, Miss., in which the county, the town of Newton, and an organization of colored people contributed, and the Slater Fund pledged \$500 for three years; at Hope, Ark., a town school supported by State and local funds, was converted into a central training school (not county, because there is no county school body), and the funds were raised by the town, the local cotton men, and the white and colored citizens individually, with the same Slater contribution; and in Sabine Parish, La., a large community school seven miles in the country was made the parish training school, with parish authority and support, and liberal contributions of the timber interests owning land all around the school, with the same Slater contribution of \$500 a year.

There are no precedents to follow in this work. Every county in the South has felt the need of fairly well trained teachers in its negro rural schools. But so far as we know this is the first time that superintendents have deliberately planned to get them by training them at home.

Each county will have to feel its way toward the end in view. All of them are making the training schools distinctly industrial and agricultural all the way through the course offered; and some are already giving class work and handcraft



of real merit. It will take several years to work out the plan; and local school authorities will give their individual stamp to it. But thus far it looks good, and the end in view goes to the very heart of the whole business of negro public schools. \*

I need not speak of the well-known schools, Hampton, Tuskegee, and Fisk, to which the larger part of the Slater money is devoted. But in two of these and in several State normal schools the Slater Fund contributes to the maintenance of summer schools for teachers, offering good training, academic and industrial, to country teachers.

Both Jeanes and Slater Funds do a little in the way of helping to build schoolhouses. In several counties of Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama the Jeanes Fund is assisting to build one good negro school as a sample. The Slater Fund contributes to the same kind of work in a limited way, and also to equipment of town and city schools for vocational work. The magnificent new building for negro children above the fifth grade, built by the City of Charleston, S. C., was furnished with superior equipment for all kinds of hand and power work by the Slater Fund.

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## THE NEED AND VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION FOR NEGROES

MISS GRACE BIGELOW HOUSE, ASSOCIATE PRINCIPAL PENN  
SCHOOL, ST. HELENA ISLAND, S. C.

We are living in a stirring age, an age that calls us all as individuals and as a nation to rouse ourselves to meet the growing demands and problems of our rapidly changing and complicated civilization. All through the activities of our modern life, in art, industry, science, politics, education, and religion, we feel the restless change, and are beginning to realize that old traditions, old methods of education, old habits of thought and action are inadequate to grapple with the new problems.

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\* In 1917-18 there are 54 County Training Schools, to each of which the Slater Fund gives \$500 for salaries, on condition that the county appropriates at least \$750 for the same purpose. The actual amounts given by the counties show an average of over \$1,000. The General Education Board has given valuable assistance toward buildings and equipment.

The call of this Southern Sociological Congress is a recognition of this fact and a ringing challenge to the South to know them and meet the needs of the hour. In this "crusade for social health and righteousness" every patriot should enlist.

In his book, "The Worker and the State," Mr. Arthur Dean recalls that familiar story in "Through the Looking Glass," where Alice and the Queen are running hand in hand, while the Queen continually cries, "Faster, faster!" When Alice is allowed to rest under a tree for awhile she looks around and remarks: "Why, I do believe we have been under this tree the whole time. Everything is just as it was!" "Of course it is," replies the Queen. "What would you have it?" Still panting a little Alice replies: "Well, in our country you generally get somewhere else, if you run very fast for a long time as we have been doing." "A slow sort of country," says the Queen. "Now, here, you see, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run twice as fast."

We, too, seem to be living in the Queen's country, for if we are to make real progress we begin to realize that we must run twice as fast. This is especially true in our educational system, which is proving unequal to the great task of preparing the youth of our country for efficient and helpful citizenship in our modern America.

The solution of the immigration problem, the race problem, the economic and industrial problems depends largely on what kind of citizens our schools are turning out.

Hugo Munsterberg says: "The United States spends annually five hundred million dollars more on fighting existing crime than on all its works of charity, education, and religion," and "the feeling is growing that a fraction of the money and energy expended would be ample to prevent much of this habitual crime from coming into existence at all." Gillette urges a reorganization of our educational system so that no one should be allowed to go out of school until he has been trained for citizenship and given a vocation. He accounts for the fact that nine out of every ten children in the United States are leaving school before finishing the elementary grades as due to the lack of interest on the part of the children, and to the



feeling of both parents and children that the school is doing little to prepare them for their work in life.

Shiftlessness, crime, and pauperism come from lack of definite training. What are our schools doing to prevent these evils? What is our race problem but the problem of fitting a backward people to lead useful, industrious, and moral lives in the communities where they live? Are our schools giving that kind of a training that leads to industry, skill, and strong moral character?

In his interesting book on vocational education, John W. Gillette gives a chart showing the vocational groups in the United States census for 1900. Of the 30,000,000 workers, the smallest group, about one and a half million, are in professional service, and it is largely for this group that our public school system is planned. The elementary schools are preparatory schools for the high schools and they in turn prepare for the college and university, while the great mass of workers go out into life without any definite training for their duties. One-third of the workers are agriculturists, and how much practical work in agriculture are our rural schools giving? There are 25,000,000 home-makers and home-keepers. What practical preparation for this work do our girls get in the ordinary public schools?

It was through industrial training that Samuel Chapman Armstrong, that far-sighted educator and pioneer in industrial education, believed the negro race would find its place in our civilization. The need of industrial training for the great body of workers of both races is recognized by most educators of to-day. This does not mean that there is no need for the so-called "higher education" for negroes who go into professional life. The ten million negroes in this country must have their efficiently trained doctors, lawyers, teachers, and business men, but at the foundation of all education for the race there should be the all-round industrial training. In our elementary schools we must add the three H's, the training of the head, hand, and heart, to the traditional three R's. "Labor," says Armstrong, "next to the grace of God in the heart, is the greatest promoter of morality, the greatest power for civilization."

The value of this training is shown in the efficient service which the graduates of industrial schools have given to the communities in which they live. Dr. Booker Washington has said: "Not a single graduate of the Hampton Institute nor of the Tuskegee Institute can be found to-day in any jail or State penitentiary. After making careful inquiry I can not find a half dozen men or women who have completed a full course of education in any of our reputable institutions, like Hampton, Tuskegee, Fisk, or Atlanta, who are in prison. The records of the South show that 90 per cent of the colored people in prisons are without knowledge of trades, and 61 per cent are illiterate. This statement alone disproves the assertion that the negro grows in crime as education increases. If the negro at the North is more criminal than his brother at the South, it is because of the employment which the South gives him and the North denies him. It is not the educated negro who has been guilty of or even charged with crime in the South; it is, as a rule, the one who has a mere smattering of education or is in total ignorance."

The success of such schools as Hampton in developing character, skill, and industry has been so great that educators from abroad are coming over to study the work of these schools, and missionaries are carrying Hampton ideals and methods to their schools in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

There are smaller schools which are giving industrial training for negroes all through the South. They have received their impulse from Hampton and Tuskegee, many of them being taught by graduates of these schools, but are adapting the industrial work to the needs of their own communities.

Dr. H. B. Frissell, the late principal of Hampton, who probably has had the largest direct influence throughout the country, on the modern movement of making education a vital and usable force in the life of a community, often spoke of these schools as "demonstration stations." Perhaps the best way to illustrate the results of this kind of training is to take one of these, the Penn School, as a concrete example, and show how it is attempting to meet the needs of St. Helena Island, which is one of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina with a population of over 6,000 negroes and about 60 white people.



When industrial education was introduced at Penn School about eight years ago, our first work was to study conditions on the Island. We found a farming community. The people are gentle, orderly, and self-respecting. Most of them own farms of from five to twenty-five acres, although some of the farms are larger. They were struggling, as so many other communities in the South are struggling, under the "one-crop" system, with all its accompanying evils. The whole family, from the baby just beginning to toddle, to the grandparents crippled by old age, devoted all their time and energy to growing the long-staple cotton, which is a very exacting crop. As a result, instead of growing the food needed for the family and live stock, that was bought at the store of the cotton merchants. The merchants fed them during the winter and took in their cotton when it was gathered. Fortunately for St. Helena, the head of the firm was a just and generous friend to the negro and tried to protect the farmers, when they were too ignorant to protect themselves, from the evils of the credit system. But this system at its best means poverty, poor food, poor homes, poor morals, and poor health. In a region which was fair and fertile the people were making a bare living through ignorance of scientific farming and business methods. Naturally there was little to attract the young people to such a life of drudgery, and they were drifting to the cities.

This is a picture not only of St. Helena, but of many rural communities in the South, although in many respects the negroes of St. Helena had an advantage over other communities in the paternal care of Mr. Macdonald, the head of the firm, and in the Christian influence of the two white women, founders of Penn School, who for over forty years devoted their lives to the service of the people of the Island. The result of their work for temperance and in the Sunday school and Churches, as well as the public schools, is noticeable when comparing conditions on St. Helena and the surrounding islands.

But the problem of making the farming interests a vital part of the school curriculum was a difficult one, not only because of the feeling among the people that education meant getting away from the drudgery of farming and work with the hands, to book work, but because the school term, here as elsewhere in rural communities, took no account of the farm

activities. The children were kept at school in the spring just when the home acres needed them most. If the children were to gain a real enthusiasm for farming and an appreciation of the importance of the practical work as part of their education, they must have the opportunity of carrying the farm operations not only on the experimental acres of the school farm, but at home.

A real enthusiasm for agriculture at school was developing. The lessons on soil preparation, rotation of crops, growing an acre of corn, and garden work, were practical problems worked out on the land. Grade III took an acre of corn and cleared \$38.45 on it this year. This piece of land not only provided the invaluable lesson how to grow corn but the money earned will provide the class with some needed agricultural tools, a set of books and other school equipment.

Grades IV, V, and VI are running a three-year rotation of corn, cotton and sweet potatoes, on a miniature farm of an acre. Their profit, beside the lesson, on the third of an acre was \$5.20 on corn, \$19.15 on cotton, and a loss of \$1.05 on sweet potatoes—this last due to a long drought. This second year of the rotation, the profit on the acre was actually doubled.

The problem of the vocational girls is the vegetable garden, and the canning of the vegetables in the spring. There were 3,907 cans put up last summer by the girls in the canning and home-makers clubs. The boys of the vocational classes are responsible for the school farm of 88 acres under cultivation.

The next step was to get this same method and interest transferred to the home acres. This would involve a complete readjustment of the school curriculum, and, to be successful, should mean an all-year school, a plan toward which the school has been working for years. This experiment was tried last year.

The school year was divided into four terms with a vacation of two instead of four months. The autumn and winter terms go on as usual, except that two weeks are given the latter part of October for the children to help harvest the sweet potato and cotton crops. One parent sent word: "It is just like putting fifty dollars in my pocket for Penn School to give my children those two weeks."



This time is used by the teachers to organize the community work, and to visit the homes and select the corn acres for the new year. The parents are asked to assign an acre to each child in school old enough to call for it, and these acres are supervised by the teachers.

The spring term opens with planting week when all the children stay at home to get their acres planted and help their parents. Then during the busy spring season, the children come to school every other day. Teachers and pupils are on the home acres the rest of the time. This brings a very much closer connection between teacher and parents, and a better understanding on the teacher's part of the home problems. As a result 85½ extra acres were planted last year by 151 children. The interest of the children, the home visits of the seven teachers and demonstration agent and the "Preparedness Campaign" have stimulated the farmers so that several hundred extra acres were planted throughout the Island, and the biggest food crop in twelve years is reported.

The parents are appreciative of the awakening in their children. One father expressed it, "We are very thankful to you-all for making our children so smart!"

After the spring term, the work on the farm is not so exacting, and the school once more resumes its everyday schedule. But on account of the summer heat the session is from 6:30 a. m., to 11:00 a. m. Only 52 pupils failed to enroll for the "Sunrise School," largely on account of the distance.

The demonstration work of the class-room teachers with their children has been supplementing this year the work of the Demonstration Agent with the older people. Farmers who were growing from 7 to 14 bushels of corn per acre, under instruction increased their yield to 50 bushels to the acre and in some cases have gone as high as 69 and 70 bushels. That was a big leap, and meant radical changes in the farming situation, for even the most conservative Islander is not going to see his neighbor make so much more on the acre without finding out the secret of his success. The first year eight doubtful farmers were hardly persuaded to put an acre into the demonstration work, and this year there are 44 farmers with 125 demonstration plots from the five islands which come under the direct influence of the school.

This demonstration work and its success have naturally led to awaking the feeling of need of better farming tools, better live stock, and business methods. Thus the St. Helena Co-operative Society was organized with a membership of seventy-five and a committee of management of eight. The rules of the society are adapted from the rules of the coöperative societies of Ireland started by Sir Horace Plunkett. Small loans are made at a low rate of interest for some productive purpose, and through the organization the smaller farmer may get the advantage of the large farmer in buying seed, fertilizer, and farm machinery. All the loans for last year have been repaid with the interest, and the coöperative society is starting out with new confidence in the use of the organization, and in the value of coöperation which is one of the great lessons for the negro race to learn.

All this work is a growth in response to the gradually awakened sense of need for better things in a primitive community where the conservatism of the Islander and the comparatively unexacting conditions of soil and climate make it easy for a people to be content with too little. There is no progress where there are no wants. The People's School is the kind of a school that is needed in every rural community. With such schools at the foundation of the development of the negro race there will be no race problem to solve, but the great problem of every patriotic citizen to keep pace in our educational system with the rapidly enlarging demands of our great republic. To use a phrase of President Hibbens', of Princeton University, it is this "schooling for the responsibility of freedom" that will win true freedom for the negro race.

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## OPEN CHURCH WORK FOR THE NEGRO

REV. JOHN LITTLE, LOUISVILLE, KY.

THE work of the Presbyterian Colored Missions has been an effort on the part of the people of Louisville to give to the negroes of that community industrial training and instruction in religious truth. Its founders had no theory to put into practice, but rather sought to minister to the needs of the



people as their needs appeared. In the fifteen years that this work has been carried on it has grown from a small Sunday school with six white teachers and twenty-three colored pupils to two large institutional churches with one thousand and eighty-one colored people attending its clubs, classes, and services which are carried on under the direction of seventy white teachers and instructors in two buildings open seven days in the week.

The first step was to organize a Sunday school where colored children would come for instruction by white teachers. Two colored girls asked for a sewing class, and the teachers at once saw that this was a needed supplement to the Sunday school. The boys, seeing the girls with extra classes, made application, and a class in basketry was organized for them. This later developed into a carpenters' shop. A cooking school was the next addition to the scheduled work, and has proved the most popular part of our force of instruction. Later boys' and girls' clubs were organized, and in them various lines of work have been undertaken for their moral improvement. During the summer months playgrounds have been operated, and in them hundreds of children have been made healthier and happier. From the first the teachers visited the pupils regularly in their homes. The study of these homes and the condition of the people led us to call to our assistance able physicians and surgeons, and they have proved to be some of our most valuable helpers.

For the past two years no new line of work has been undertaken, but there has been a steady gradual enlargement of each of the departments mentioned, because each year a larger number have sought admission in these clubs and classes.

For twelve years the work was conducted in two dilapidated storerooms which were rented for the purpose. A few years ago the committee in charge purchased two substantial brick buildings, well lighted and well ventilated and in every way suitable for the work. These buildings increased the confidence of the colored people in our desire to help them, and since the purchase of this property the work has increased in the numbers reached and in efficiency of the service rendered.

There has been a remarkable increase in the past few years in the number of our pupils who have received treatment at

the hands of our best physicians and surgeons. Literally hundreds who have been suffering with diseases of the eyes have been treated and practically every one cured. Many with defective vision have been fitted with glasses and in most instances the pupils themselves have paid for these glasses. In two instances we found girls in the sewing school who had lost one eye and were unconscious of their loss. The specialists who treated them told us that if their cases had been longer neglected they would have resulted in total blindness. One of these girls to-day stands at the head of our sewing school. A number of wonderful and successful surgical operations have been performed. The result of these operations has not been the physical relief alone, but has also given us new spiritual power. Many who have been treated by the physicians have later united with the Church, and in one or two instances the parents of children thus treated have also been brought into the Church.

The most remarkable thing in connection with the whole work is the fact that white people of this community have volunteered as teachers. One by one, men and women from Presbyterian and other evangelical Churches in the city have volunteered their services. Our sewing classes and cooking classes are taught by white women who have volunteered to give one afternoon each week. Other men and women volunteered as instructors on Sunday afternoon in the Sunday school. Many of these people rarely see each other, because they come on different days, but their hearts and services are united in their ministry to the needy people. A nobler group than the seventy consecrated men and women who are cheerfully donating their services to this work could not be found in the whole land.

#### SPECIAL POINTS OF INTEREST

1. It is a local work done according to the ideas of the people of Louisville. Many institutions for negroes have failed to attain the highest standard of usefulness because they have not the indorsement of the community in which they have been established, but are maintained according to the ideas of a board which resides in some distant state. The policy of this work is determined by the teachers, who are residents in



Louisville, and it is conducted in such a way as not to offend the white people. The proof that it is reaching the colored people lies in the fact that it has grown from a Sunday school of twenty-three pupils to two large institutional churches reaching one thousand and eighty-one colored people.

2. It is supported largely by money contributed in Louisville. The most perplexing question in regard to the whole work is its financial support. At no period in its history has there been in the treasury a sum sufficient to pay one month's expenses. The Presbyterian Churches in Louisville have from time to time taken collections, but the total amount received from Churches is only a small part of the amount necessary for its maintenance. Most of the money comes from individuals, and the larger part of it in very small sums. Several individuals contribute five cents a month. Occasionally a gift comes from another state and brings with it an inspiration which is always more valuable than the gift itself.

3. It has been clearly demonstrated that our industrial work, our clubs, and playgrounds have a strong spiritual influence. The first member to come forward to apply for baptism and admission to the Church came from a class in cooking. In this cooking class I saw the sterling character of this girl and saw an opportunity to speak to her of her personal salvation. That night she came forward to unite with the Church. Many children have drifted into the playground and have there become personally acquainted with our teachers and have been led into the Sunday school, into the church services, and later to the foot of the Cross. One summer I suggested to a theological student that he direct our playground. He objected, saying that he thought he could do more good by visiting in the homes of the community and reading the Bible and talking to them personally. I said to him then: "Leave the moral responsibility with me and take the playground and use it." At the close of the summer he was frank enough to admit that the playground had given him a wonderful influence over the pupils in the Sunday school, and also when he preached in the Church. Most of the boys who have united with the Church have come from our classes in carpentry and our boys' clubs.

What has been done in Louisville could be done in a number of other communities in the South, and I am anxious to see the day when our force of Christian workers will be more zealous in their efforts for the salvation of the negro, who needs our help, our sympathy, and our instruction. In Atlanta a similar work has been organized by the Central Presbyterian Church. They have purchased a suitable building, are conducting a Sunday school and sewing school, boys' and girls' clubs, and last summer conducted a vacation Bible school, where hundreds of colored children were given religious instruction and industrial training. In Richmond, Va., a student of a theological seminary has organized another similar work. I saw a picture of his Sunday school when it started and another picture six months later. In the meantime he had visited in the homes, had opened a playground, organized boys' and girls' clubs, and a sewing school. May the day soon come when we shall have these institutions established in hundreds of other cities in the South!

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## RACIAL SELF-RESPECT AND RACIAL ANTAGONISM

C. V. ROMAN, M.A., M.D., NASHVILLE, TENN.

WHAT we need in the South is racial self-respect without racial antagonism.

Some knowledge of the messenger often illuminates the message. I was born and reared among white people. The playmates and associates of my childhood were white. My moral and religious instructions came from the same source. I have received upon a sick bed the kindly ministrations of sympathetic white companions. I have sunk into the death-like sleep of surgical narcosis amid the earnest prayers of Christian white women mingled with those of my mother. I have felt the blessed benediction from the soothing words of a pious minister in the presence of death. I have seen him cheer the last hours of the dying and bind up the wounds of the broken-hearted. So, I *know* that some white people have the true religion of Jesus Christ, who "was manifest in the



flesh, justified in the Spirit, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."

From such experiences I came forth nearly thirty years ago to dwell among my own people. Among the farewells was the benediction of a pious old Scotchman who had been for two years my "philosopher, guide, and friend," and who presciently assured me that I would prosper in the land if I would but trust God and do right. "Remember," said he as the train pulled out of the station, "'He that walketh uprightly walketh surely.'"

In less than a week I was a school-teacher in the backwoods of Kentucky. Within five years I was a practicing physician. I have mingled with my people in Church and society. I have had the advantage of travel and observation, and I know something of mankind in general, as well as my own people in particular—their virtues and their vices, their joys and their sorrows, their hopes and their fears. I love my people and prefer to live among them. I am not ashamed of being a negro.

But this is not all. During my life in the South I have known white men in all the walks of life, and I firmly believe that kindness is very widely distributed, and that the love of justice and fair play is more prevalent than either class prejudice or racial antagonism. Moreover, professional and personal friendships have brought confidences that have revealed skeletons and hearthurts which only the most intimate ever know of each other. I have therefore come to believe that no human heart is so hard as to feel no pain, and none so strong as to need no sympathy.

Misunderstanding, rather than meanness, makes men unjust to each other. Ignorance and prejudice feed upon each other. The ignorant are always prejudiced, and the prejudiced are always ignorant.

If the white people and the black people in this glorious Southland of ours ever understand each other, racial self-respect will safeguard the purlieus of racial integrity, and in matters of common welfare coöperation will displace antagonism.

In the sincere hope of contributing to a mutual understanding between the races this paper was written.

## PART ONE—BASIC GENERAL TRUTHS

1. *Man's sole right to preëminence over his animal kinsman is his intellectuality.* The mind makes the man. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." Not his looks, nor his stature, but his *thoughts* make the man. As a man *thinks*, not as a man looks, finally fixes his status. Thoughts, not bites, win the battles of life. Racial distinctions are psychical rather than physical. Slav, Saxon, and Latin are far more dissimilar in mental habit than in physical contour. Mental habit rather than physical form differentiated Greece and Rome. Many attempts have been made to classify mankind, but the intellectual division into sensorimotor and ideomotor is the most far-reaching.

2. *Humanity is greater than race.* It is said that Napoleon lost the battle of Waterloo because he misunderstood the topography of the region over which the cavalry had to pass in their charge against the allied armies under Wellington. Ignoring a sunken road precipitated a series of reverses that ended ignominiously the martial career of the first Napoleon and eclipsed forever his star of conquest.

The careers of nations are typified in the careers of individuals. The Saxon is the conquering war lord among nations, and seems destined to rule the world. There is, however, in his path a chasm whose depth and dangers he seems unable to appreciate. It is *color-prejudice*—the effort to substitute *race* for *merit* in measuring men.

Modern civilization will go the way of Sodom and Gomorrah unless justice and fraternity can gain a firmer hold on the hearts and brains of men. No civilization can become world-wide and enduring if a white skin is the indispensable passport to justice and distinction. This would exclude from the fruits of civilization the majority of mankind.

3. *The highest wisdom is to know the truth; the highest virtue is to do the right.* One should have either the brains to lead or the faith to follow. To be willing to live the truth is a greater virtue than to be willing to die for one's opinions. Martyrdom is at best only a test of fidelity to opinion and not an argument for truth. In the last analysis it may be sheer stubbornness. Man's attitude toward new or unpleasant



truth is the greatest tragedy of human life. He not only does not know the truth and does not want to know it, but will resent to the bitter end anybody else's knowing it or talking about it. "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light."

4. *Justice and liberty are for all or for none. Injustice can not linger in a land that is really bright with freedom's holy light.* No tyrant was ever free. No man is secure in his rights so long as any man is deprived of his rights. It is easier to be generous than it is to be just. Man's hope of justice has ever been an idle dream and his quest for liberty a fool's errand, because he is not willing to be just nor to meet the conditions of freedom.

5. *Self-interest is the only sane basis from which to predicate successful coöperation.* No man is ever going to think more of you than he does of himself. The highest ethical ideal ever lived or preached enjoined that you love your neighbor as yourself. Sane altruism is the highest and truest egoism.

6. *Conduct must be consistent or character will not be sound.* An individual or people can not long remain both Jekyll and Hyde, for one character or the other will eventually triumph. No one can successfully change his character with his company. A race can not be persistently unjust and dishonest to another race and be permanently either honest or just to itself. Kindness never degraded any one, nor did rudeness ever vindicate anybody's claims to superiority. A virtuous man is an asset to his community, and a vicious man is a deficit, regardless of racial identity.

#### PART TWO—PRESENT CONDITIONS

With these basic general truths in mind, let us note some specific facts of racial contact in the South to-day.

1. *There has arisen in the South a type of politician that proposes to make the white people happy by making the negroes unhappy.* They propose to better the poor white man's condition relatively and negatively by making worse the negro's condition. Instead of striving to move forward themselves, they are striving to force the negro back. It is a strange and weird delusion that seems to have completely obsessed some

people and opened the door to political preferment. They hope by some political alchemy to put more rights in the Constitution for themselves by taking out any rights the negro may have, or think he has, therein.

2. *The races know and believe in the vices of each, but do not know or believe in the virtues of each other.* The average white Christian believes that the negro neither understands nor practices the true principles of Christianity, and the negro knows that the white man so believes. But the negro believes identically the same thing of the white man, and this the white man does *not* know. Yet neither doubts the other's vices. Further, the average negro feels it is impolite to be manly and dangerous to be frank with white people. May it not be possible that each race has given the other more evidence of its vices than it has of its virtues? Each has demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the other its guilt of falsehood, theft, and immorality; but each has failed to impress upon the other its truth, honesty and virtue.

If the white man has more intelligence, the negro has more secretiveness. Each fails to understand the other. Playing master developed arrogance, while playing slave developed cunning. Neither is a desirable quality in a friend.

3. *A belief that the negro is unable to defend himself often makes white people tyrannical.* A belief that the courts are unfair frequently makes the negro desperate. By magnifying petty offenses, petty criminals are made grave and incorrigible offenders. Thus the seeds of race antagonism and anarchy are sown. The records of the inferior courts of our country will prove painful reading to those who love justice and fair play. Fred Douglass said that as a boy he discovered that the slaves oftenest whipped were not the ones most deserving punishment, but those most easily whipped. This is largely true of our administration of justice. This fact, rather than race prejudice or negro criminality, explains the frequency with which negro crap games are raided and negro vagrants incarcerated.

4. *Racial contact is now at the most disadvantageous and dangerous points—*

(1) The vicious and criminal of both races in the saloons, brothels, and gambling dens. (2) The ignorance and poverty



of the negro with the wealth of the whites. The servant race gets an exaggerated idea of the wealth and influence of the master race; and the master race gets an exaggerated idea of the vice and ignorance of the servant race. Both confuse race and class. The negro is the greater loser; for a lack of racial ideals is his greatest misfortune. Imitation may be sincere flattery, but it is also an irritating annoyance that will bring down upon the hapless head of the imitator the contempt of the imitated. The attitude of the white man himself is responsible for the negro's lack of race pride.

5. *Any accusation of crime is made with big headlines in the newspapers.* Corrections or retractions are never thus made. The immense power of language is thus used to promote strife. Mobs originate in epithets as often as in crime. The intellectual forces of associated ideas are used to generate race antagonism. This works one of the greatest hardships the negro has to bear, and is the most potent force for evil in the race situation.

6. *The doctrinaire ebullitions of the student often become slogans of war among the ignorant.* Newspaper and platform arguments about "white supremacy" often take the form of cruelty and oppression when interpreted by a street car conductor, a ward policeman, or a workhouse guard. The extent of this oppression, I am sure, is entirely unknown to the majority of white citizens. It is an interesting, if pathetic, study to see an artificial self-consciousness of racial superiority strangle the natural impulses of civilization. The other day I saw a good-looking, modest-appearing, well-dressed, but frail negro woman with a child in her arms attempt to board a street car. She was about to fail. The conductor started to help her, then looked at the other passengers and desisted. His face was a study. Prejudice won; but it was a Pyrrhic victory. To prove a doctrine he damned a man. There is something wrong with a code of ethics that makes its votaries feel it a humiliation to be kind to any sentient creature, much less a human being, however humble. Chromatopsia may yet wreck the twentieth-century civilization.

The persistent effort to treat all negroes alike **retards** the healthful growth of class distinction among us and lessens the

influence of the intelligent and virtuous over the ignorant and vicious.

7. *Business intercourse is hampered and friction needlessly engendered by a racial chauvinism that leads many white people to disregard the ordinary amenities of civilization in their dealings with negroes.* This is not in accordance with the ideals of ethics, nor the traditions and conduct of the great men of the South. The sun is not injured by shining upon the lowly, neither is politeness degraded when extended to the humble. No man was ever lowered by kindness. Washington, Jefferson, and Hayne might be summoned to testify.

White clerks object to negro customers and white proprietors object to negro stores.

Interstate travel is a veritable nightmare—nothing to eat, nowhere to sleep, imperfect toilet accommodations, and a change of cars every few hours.

#### PART THREE—THE REMEDY

1. *Let us accept it as a fact that the negro and the white man must survive or perish together in the South.* "God, who is the great Choragus and Master of the scenes of life and death," has placed us on the stage together. Let us play our parts like men, neither crying like children nor fighting like dogs.

2. *Let us encourage interracial coöperation on matters appertaining to the common good.* May not the intelligent and conservative members of both races form a kind of clearing house for the debits and credits of racial contact? A knowledge of a friend's virtues may give us patience with his vices. Mutual respect is a prerequisite to mutual fair play. The problem can be solved better in detail.

3. *Let us find the facts.* This is no easy task. The races know so much about each other that *is not so*. The average individual "reasons but to err." Bacon describes four kinds of errors or false notions that seduce men's minds from the truth. Race adjustment in the South is hindered by all four forms; but what he calls idols of the market place and idols of the theater are the most troublesome. The first are the



loose inaccuracies of ordinary gossip—erroneous opinions that men communicate to each other in social and business intercourse. The second are the systematically taught tenets of false philosophies and unsound political creeds.

4. *If I could get the ear of the genius of the American press, I would ask the following boon for America and the negro:*

(1) Drop from the vocabulary all such words as nigger, darky, Sambo, coon, etc.

(2) Never mention the race of a criminal in connection with criminal news.

(3) Never report the speeches or sayings of race agitators, especially those seeking political preferment or personal prominence.

(4) Publish with full racial credit items creditable to the negro.

Five years of such conduct would see the end of the negro problem in America.

5. *The American negro needs sane, conservative, unselfish, patient, negro leadership.* The greatest help that can be given the race is to assist in the development of these leaders. Whole-some negro ideals must be created by men of negro blood. These ideals may be assisted from without, but can not be superimposed. Masters may be aliens, but *leaders* must be patriots. Leaders must know the people they lead. A race without leaders of its own blood is lost. No masterpiece was ever written in any language but the mother tongue of the writer; and great leaders are always kindred of the led. Moses was a Jew, Cromwell was an Englishman, Lincoln was an American, and Booker T. Washington was a negro.

In "The Lady of the Lake" Scott describes a character, Brian, the priest, whose unnamed father met his mother at midnight upon an ancient battlefield, and whose mother

"Locked her secret in her breast,  
And died in travail, unconfessed."

Popular superstition gave the unlucky orphan a ghost for a sire. His unhappy fate is thus described:

"Alone among his young compeers,  
 Was Brian from his infant years;  
 A moody and heart-broken boy,  
 Estranged from sympathy and joy,  
 Bearing each taunt with careless tongue  
 On his mysterious lineage flung.  
 Whole nights he spent by moonlight pale,  
 To wood and stream his hap to wail,  
 Till, frantic, he as truth received  
 What of his birth the crowd believed,  
 And sought, in mist and meteor fire,  
 To meet and know his Phantom Sire!

In vain, to soothe his wayward fate,  
 The cloister oped her pitying gate;  
 In vain, the learning of the age  
 Unclasped the sable-lettered page:  
 Even in its treasures he could find  
 Food for the fever of his mind.

Eager he read whatever tells  
 Of magic, cabala, and spells,  
 And every dark pursuit allied  
 To curious and presumptuous pride;  
 Till with fired brain and nerves o'erstrung,  
 And heart with mystic horrors wrung,  
 Desperate he sought Benharrow's den,  
 And hid him from the haunts of men."

He became a superstitious fanatic because of the pressure of outside opinion.

This is the negro's position exactly. He has accepted, to his own detriment, the white man's estimate of him. Whole-some public opinion must arise from within, not be superimposed from without. Enthusiastic abolitionists overestimated his *immediate* capabilities as a citizen, and the antagonistic standpatter underestimated his rights as a man. Neither was willing to let him evolve naturally. As a consequence he has frequently disappointed friends by inefficiency and irritated enemies by imitation. *What is the remedy?* Let all the friends of humanity, white and black, bend every energy to increase the negro's self-respect and patience. This will do more to stop the copying of your secret orders than all the injunctions and statutes you can invent. Encourage negroes in the professions and business. It will help everybody. Pub-



lie opinion is all-powerful in this country—white people make that opinion. Let that opinion back the constructive, conservative workers among the negroes, instead of exploiting “white hopes.” Encourage the liberal and sane action of Nashville, Tenn., in employing negro district nurses; of Clarks-ville, Tenn., and Fort Worth, Tex., in having negro assistant health officers to work among their own people and coöperate with the whites for the general good. See that separate laws are fairly enforced and equal accommodations given.

## FINALLY

*The effectiveness of opposition to one's progress is in inverse ratio to one's speed.* A stone thrown at less than a mile a minute shatters a windowpane against which it strikes; a pistol bullet at forty or fifty miles a minute goes through with little disturbance, while light at a rate of twelve million miles a minute passes through with no perceptible disturbance whatever. A candle hurled with sufficient speed will pass uninjured through an oak plank.

*Apparently insurmountable opposition often indicates that we have too little momentum; that we are, in fact, moving too slowly.* That is what is the matter with the country to-day. It has slackened its pace toward that ideal government which “derives its just powers from the consent of the governed,” “a government of the people, by the people, and for the people,” under which any individual whatsoever may have “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” unhindered and unhinder- ing.

“The lusts of other things entering in have choked the word;” for the love of money we have “denied the faith and pierced ourselves through with many sorrows,” and

“Man's inhumanity to man”

has again postponed the day

“When truth and worth o'er all the earth  
Shall bear the gree, and a' that.”

“The real solution of the trust question, the race question, and all the great problems of our government to-day is a re-dedication of the thought of the country to the ideals of justice and fair play.”

"If we set our eyes on *justice for all men*, the momentum of righteousness will overcome all obstacles, even the *race question*."

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## THE TEST OF CIVILIZATION

MRS. J. D. HAMMOND, DALTON, GA.

THE big things of life are always simple. It is we little people of a day who, in all ages, have distorted the big things, and made them complex, by wresting them piecemeal from their normal relations and judging them from the standpoint of our small personal circumstances.

The way out, in any tangle, is the big, simple way that fits all human life. Nothing is really peculiar, not even our selfishness and provincialism. Human life is one. We can match our greatness and our weakness, our knowledge, our ignorance, our heroisms and our meannesses, wherever men and women live, wherever strength preys upon weakness, wherever love rises into sacrifice or sinks into selfish indulgence.

What is our duty to the negro? What tons of air have been breathed in answering that question, what volumes written, what complex difficulties unearthed! And all the time the plain, straight, simple answer stares us in the face, the answer that meets all the peculiar conditions that ever were or ever will be, the whole wide world around: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

The old question springs to our lips at once: "Who is my neighbor? And straight and simple the answer comes: "The man who has no chance, the down and out, the man who *needs*. Thou shalt love him as thyself."

This measure of love is not, as we often imagine, sacrifice; it is justice. Sacrifice is loving our neighbor as Christ loved us—pouring out gifts, and opportunity, and life itself, in his service, stripping ourselves that we may meet his needs. Loving one's neighbor, not more than one's self, but as one's self, belongs to a lower world than that—the eye-for-an-eye, tooth-for-a-tooth world, the world of justice and fair play. It means that we who are strong shall not trample the weak nor take advantage of their helplessness, but shall open to them the



door of opportunity and see that they have a chance to enter it—as fair a chance, according to their ability, as we.

Justice and opportunity—those are the fundamental human needs, the necessary basis of human progress, the test of the measure of a nation's civilization. The lack of them is the taproot of all social and industrial problems the world around. What we call the negro problem is the South's fragment of this world-tangle, which we have hitherto viewed as a thing apart, instead of as our share of the task of the human race. Our problem is not racial, but human and economic. The coincidence to so great an extent in the South of the poverty line and the color line has confused our thoughts; we hold the negro racially responsible for conditions common to all races on his economic plane.

Races, indeed, are separate and distinct, nor would we of the South have them otherwise. They stand apart like mountains, cleft to their very base; yet are all the mountains one with the earth. Differences go deep, and abide; but likenesses go deeper yet. The earth explains the mountains, and races of men are to be explained only in terms of humanity.

In every race, when the worker's income falls below the nation's standard of healthful living, certain world-wide uglinesses appear in the worker's life. The longer a family or a class lives below this poverty line, this line of want, the more these tendencies develop. Insufficient food and clothing, insanitary shelter, and lack of clean recreation lower the vitality of body and mind, cause what we term laziness, and foster a craving for stimulants and vicious excitement. To this personal depreciation poverty adds housing conditions which force an environment almost, or quite, prohibitive of decency or morality. Thriftlessness, vice, weakened wills, unreliability in every relation of life—to all these this economic class, the world over, is foredoomed at birth. We can not shift the responsibility for it from the privileged class by saying that such people will not work. It takes both justice and opportunity to lift them to where they can hold their wills at the working point, beyond the satisfying of their purely animal needs.

These needs are insistent; and to satisfy them they follow the line of least resistance, whether it lead to work or crime. This economic class, the world over, furnishes the great bulk

of the world's supply of criminals. It furnishes it here in the South. And because this class is, with us, so largely composed of negroes, we charge their race with those tendencies which the conditions we furnish them supply. Yet what is true here of negroes is true elsewhere, under like conditions, of men of every race and of every color.

Little children are the raw material of human life. You can weave them into a great variety of patterns, into goods of all grades, though you can not make wool cotton nor cotton wool. In Italy they are trying an experiment with some children of Rome's criminal class—this same class which lives below the line of want. They have renovated some insanitary houses over there, letting in abundant light and air. Only a fair business return on the investment was desired, so the rents are within the reach of this poorest and lowest class. Then some one who cared about helping them was set to do it, making friends with them, showing them how to live, and why. The tenants' health and morals have improved, they are better able to work, more ambitious to do so—a little hope is a wonderful heartener to ambition—and generally they have improved. This plan has been tried everywhere, except among our poorest in the South; and it works out like a sum in simple addition. Two and two will always make four, whether they are added on white paper or on a black slate. The peculiar thing about this Italian experiment is its method with the children—Rome's foredoomed criminals-to-be.

They are taken very young, before the streets poison them—at two and a half or three years of age. A woman of a higher class, educated, a woman who cares, has oversight of them all day long. They play and they work, indoors and out, with plenty of fresh air and sunshine. They have what children need—red children, yellow children, children white and black: opportunity for normal development. And they have developed in a way that has arrested the attention of the world, these Montessori children, these children of Rome's poorest and criminal class.

I do not say that negro children would respond as well, or that Anglo-Saxon children would. The Romans were a cultured people, leaders of the world's thought, when our Teutonic forefathers wore skins and fought like beasts for their



prey. And the negroes were savages much later still. The Roman slum children have a longer inheritance than ours. But humanity is humanity, and the thing is worth trying on white Americans and black ones, too. Justice and opportunity are really the two sides of the one shield: justice necessitates opportunity.

What happens to our little negroes? The parents of some of them have had opportunity. Some of them have wise care and a fair chance. Not very many of them, as compared with the whole race; but more than enough to refute the doctrine that the negroes are incapable of fine things.

Many negro parents were denied in their childhood those opportunities for normal growth which are childhood's right the world over; they can pass on little but their own ignorance and inefficiency. Their children grow up in the street, a filthy street too often. If our part of town is clean, we are not very particular about the "darkies." They are dirty, anyway. Undoubtedly. And we too would be dirty if he had to go down the street for water—a dozen families to one hydrant or one foul old well—and "tote" every drop for family use in a lard bucket or an old tin pan. Anyway, our little "darker" grows up in dirt—dirt that the city ought, by law, to remove, and dirt that the city ought, by enforcement of law, to prevent the negroes from casting into the street. He gets used to dead cats and dogs in the alley, and to decaying garbage, and to unspeakable filth, moral and physical, in the outhouses allowed in the negro quarters of perfectly respectable cities. The white man's vice district is cheek by jowl with his home. White men, tolerated, if not encouraged, by the police, teach him contempt for law, while they make money selling negroes liquor. For negroes, as we all know, are a drunken set. But it is the white man who manufactures what makes him drunk, makes money off his drunkenness, and tempts his children to drink: all for money, all in defiance of law, all under the protection of the authorities. So our little "darker" has scant respect for law: he gets that from the white man. Scant respect for virtue, too, brought up in the white man's vice district. He is robbed of his human birthright—the child's opportunity to know decency—before he learns that such a thing exists.

Some day he gets drunk and flourishes a razor. Or perhaps he commits a deadlier crime: he steals something from a white man.

A few weeks ago at a certain railroad station I saw a scared-looking negro boy of eighteen arrested by three or four big policemen. A great crowd gathered, while they waited for the "Black Maria," and stared at the cowering boy. After he had gone a policeman told me he had stolen a box of cigars.

"What will they do to him?" I asked.

"O, he'll get about fifteen years," he said carelessly.

I exclaimed in horror.

He considered. "Well, maybe not. He's young. Like enough he'll get off with ten."

And come out a finished criminal, to prey on the society which preyed on him! He stole a box of cigars. We stole his birthright. Let God judge between us.

Isn't it cheaper to give him a chance—just cheaper, in dollars and cents? Long ago an old English bishop said of the children in London's slums that they were not born into the world, but damned into it. It is an old trick of the privileged classes—this allowing children to be damned into the world. Damnation is not particular about the color line; it is as swift for black as for white.

Our duty to the negro is as clear as day. It is the duty of strength to weakness, the world around; of knowledge to ignorance; of the privileged to those shut out; the plain, simple, human duty that cuts through prejudice and sophistry as a sword cuts threads. We must give him justice and opportunity; and we have not given them yet.

I can not think it is wickedness in us. I thought it was wickedness in England, years ago, when the whole country shrank in angry horror, not from hideous injustice, but from the man who dared to tell that it was done. That Stead should be in jail seemed to me the personal disgrace of every free Englishman. I thought the North was wicked, to a man, when as a young girl I first learned about the children in the sweat-shops. They were rich up there, they claimed to love justice, they had power, and they knew. Yet nothing was done. I thought they were all hypocrites.



But I have come to understand. We are all like children, and, like children, we see only in part. Like children, we have our times of sudden growth, our periods of long quiescence. One world after another opens to children: First, the world of sense; then, more slowly, the world of mind; last, and most slowly, the world of spirit. Children, and men, and races of men, we grow that way.

The foremost races at last approach, as races, the world of spirit. Vision is coming to just-opening eyes: a vision of human oneness, of human brotherhood, of world-wide obligation. We could not see it before; we knew not what we did. All the old foundations of human life are being tested, that only the unshakable may remain. Justice and opportunity for all—that is the new world-cry. Our ears, too, are catching it. Its answer stirs deeper in our souls. Some new thing in us yearns for it for those who have it not.

I would not minify the difficulties of its achievement. Things worth doing always cost; and neglect piles up debts with compound interest. But in all men, everywhere, there is a spark of that fire of God which can flame into such a passion for humanity that it does count the cost. It is the light that leads the race; and it will burn for us of the South. We are not a people to count the cost; our glorious past proves it. The life of the race is our life; we too can take the world-wide look. We too can so build our foundations in justice that every black man may know the sure shelter of the law, and the poorest children grow up in decent homes, cared for, taught life's lessons in clean play, sheltered from the contamination of our vice districts, trained to do honest work and willing to give it, because they are sure of honest work's reward.

As a people of a section we may well be helpless, struggling blindly with disjointed circumstances. As part of all humanity we share the race-task: to widen the bounds of justice, to open the doors of opportunity for all, to blend our small lives with that great Power which makes for righteousness for all the races of men.

## INTER-RACIAL INTERESTS IN INDUSTRY

PRINCIPAL ROBERT RUSSA MOTON, TUSKEGEE, ALA.

THE Census of 1910 shows that two out of every five persons engaged in gainful occupations in the sixteen Southern States are negroes. Of the entire negro population in these sixteen States, we find that 63 per cent are in some form of industrial occupations, while only 47 per cent of the white people are thus engaged. Of all the negroes who are engaged in industrial activities, 60 per cent are agricultural workers. It will be observed, then, that the large majority of industrial workers in the South are on the land, and this is especially hopeful so far as the negro is concerned. It is also significant that the number of negroes engaged as agricultural laborers is about the same as it was fifty years ago, though the negro population has increased nearly 150 per cent during that period. Something like a million negroes have, therefore, developed from agricultural laborers to farmers, there being according to the Census of 1910 something like 890,000 in this class. After all of the efforts that have been made to induce foreign immigration to settle in the South, less than 5 per cent have so far availed themselves of the opportunities offered, and a large portion of that 5 per cent has settled in the cities of the South. The negro must be very largely depended upon to supply all the demands for labor in agricultural as well as domestic lines. According to reliable statistics, he has not only hitherto done this more or less acceptably, but he has also gone rapidly into the fields of skilled and semi-skilled laborers. He is, therefore, an indispensable factor in the present and future development of our Southern States.

Mr. Wright says:\*

During the past fifty years . . . there have been significant changes in unskilled labor among negroes, some of which are here enumerated:

1. The race, then largely unskilled, has developed more than a million semi-skilled workers, business and professional men and women.
2. The standard of the unskilled worker himself has been raised.
3. The unskilled worker has adapted himself to a system of wages, as against a system of slavery.

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\* "Annals American Academy," page 21.



4. The average of intelligence of unskilled labor has been greatly increased.
5. Unskilled labor has become more reliable.
6. The negro labor has survived the competition of the immigrant.
7. Unskilled labor has to a large extent been the foundation on which negro businesses, the negro church, and the negro secret society have grown up.

One reasonably familiar with the situation does not doubt that the South within the next few decades, because of its splendid soil and climate, its abundant rainfall, its special adaptation to the raising of cotton, its new and growing spirit of enterprise which demands modern scientific methods of agriculture, will become one of the most important agricultural sections of the nation and the world. It is therefore important not only that labor and capital should work in harmony, but it is even more important that there should be inter-racial sympathy and coöperation along all lines of economic and civic endeavor.

Thoughtful negroes as well as thoughtful white men are agreed that the South offers the largest opportunity for the negro, economically, socially, and morally. It is also agreed by thoughtful people, black and white, that the rural districts in the South offer the greatest opportunity for the masses of colored people. It is fair to assume then—

1. That, for the present at least, the South can not depend on foreign immigrants for its farm operatives, its domestic and personal service, and its unskilled and semi-skilled labor.

2. That it must depend on the negro for the present and the very distant future to recruit the ranks of this form of labor.

3. That, if the negro is to constitute the mass of industrial operatives of the South, it is imperative that for the common good there should be sympathetic coöperation with the white workers engaged in similar forms of industries.

4. That every effort should be exerted on the part of the South to make these laborers, black and white, more reliable, more skillful, and more efficient.

5. That the laborer can be kept efficient and skillful only as his environment is wholesome and strengthening, and not weakening and demoralizing.

6. That it is the duty of every patriotic Southerner to use every possible means for practical, sympathetic training of these workers and their children through a thorough, well-regulated school system.

It is frequently asserted by careless and thoughtless speakers and writers that all negroes are lazy, shiftless, and inefficient; but the people who say this are not only out of accord with the facts of the case, but they do not believe, often, what they themselves are saying. What they mean to say is that some negroes in every community are lazy, shiftless, and inefficient; but in practically every district where negroes are employed, whether as farm laborers or as mechanical laborers, the verdict is that the large majority of negro workers are reliable, many of them skillful and very efficient, and not a few almost indispensable. There are very few places in the South where the employer would be willing to dispense with the service of his negro employees. Truly, the South has made marvelous strides in industries within the past forty years, but this would have been well-nigh impossible without its docile, cheerful, and generally willing negro population. Notwithstanding the much discouraging talk and the more discouraging, not to say unfair and unjust, legislation, there can not be found, even where the ruling and the laboring class are both of the same race, as much real, helpful sympathy and coöperation as exist at the present time between the negro and the Southern white man. The relationship is one that is difficult to define, yet it is no less real. There are some individual white men who like individual negroes. Though they may think they hate the race, the same individual white men will do any reasonable thing to help individual negroes. Yet they may say any unreasonable thing against the negro race. There are negroes who are equally as inconsistent in their feelings and expressions regarding the white race.

The white South, for its own self-interest, if for no other, should strive to make the individual relationship which exists between the races a more general relationship, and make this



large mass of negro workers happy and contented; it should encourage them to live on the farm and to buy up the waste and undeveloped lands of the South, and offer every possible inducement for the negro to remain in the South and on the land where he can rear his children amid physical and moral surroundings conducive to his highest development and greatest usefulness to himself and to the State.

I think the two races in the South truly deserve to be congratulated—the negro, because, notwithstanding all of the laws and all of the discussions regarding the various forms of circumscription and segregation, he has not become embittered and has not grown to hate the white race; and the white people, because, in view of all that has been said and done, have not lost all confidence in and respect for and desire to help the negro. And this brings us to the question of segregation, about which I wish to state, as clearly and as definitely as possible, how the negro feels. Few white people know the negro's real feelings on the question, "What is in the back of our heads?" The negro rarely ever discusses this question frankly, for the reason that he does not think that because he is black he is therefore cursed, and that therefore the Creator has limited his possibilities so that he is unfit for association with other human beings. But as a matter of fact 99 per cent, I should say, of the negro race, if they should tell what they really feel, would say that they have no desire to be with the white people because they are *white*, that so far as unforced segregation and separation are concerned he is entirely in accord with it, not because of unfitness, but because of racial compatibility. This one can observe in every Southern community and in most Northern communities where there are any considerable number of negroes. In Southern communities long before segregation was ever spoken of there were negro sections in almost all towns, where the negroes lived happily and there was practically no trouble nor feeling of unpleasantness because of it. The only persons who deigned to disregard the unwritten law were certain white men who opened grocery stores, dry-goods stores, and barrooms which very frequently carried with them the lowest and most subtle sort of vices and degradation which would not be tolerated in white residential sections. What is true in urban com-

munities is very much the same in rural communities. I know many counties in Virginia and in other States also where one could go for miles on land owned by colored people and this without any law forcing them to thus separate. The negro enjoys the companionship of his race and never loses a chance to get with them, everything else being equal. The negro, like every other human being, enjoys being with his friends, whether they be black or white. But because a few negroes here and there in cities and in the country have bought property alongside of white people; because the negro traveling on the railroad wishes to ride in the Pullman car; because at the railroad station he applies at the only restaurant for a meal; because a few negroes here and there go to Northern white universities, and because he protests against the "jim crow" car, which almost invariably means inferior accommodations, and the separation on street cars, the feeling in the minds of the average white person, I suppose, is that the negro wants to be *white* and he wants to be *with* white people because they *are white*. There is absolutely no foundation in fact for this feeling.

The negro has long since learned that property alongside of white people in cities and in towns is more valuable, that his wife and children have more protection, that the streets are better and cleaner, that he gets better fire protection, greater police protection, and for such a section there are more adequate sanitary arrangements. The negro farmer has discovered that if his land adjoins a white man's land the county roads are better cared for. The roads in the negro sections, especially where the county roads are infrequently used by white people, as is often the case, are generally neglected, and it is often difficult to get the roadmaster to pay any attention to that section of the public highway. In many cases it is never touched. The fence and stock laws will be much more rigidly enforced by county officials and more carefully observed by both black and white where white people's property is concerned.

The truth is, the white people are the ruling, controlling, dominating, directing element of this country, and they have the best of everything—best parts of the cities, best hotels and restaurants, best cars, and, as a rule, the best schools, colleges,



and universities. When a negro shows any inclination to be with white people it is not because he wants to be with white people as such, but because he wants to get the best as to land, position, education, comforts, conveniences, and protection.

It is self-evident that the negro has practically no share in the making of or the execution of the laws, and when he is segregated he knows that underneath it is the idea that he is inferior and unfit for association with decent people of every other race. He knows that in his section of the city the streets are not paved; that criminals of his own race, and often of other races, are allowed to run at large and prey on the ignorant and innocent; that in his section the health boards are not as particular regarding sanitary surroundings; that street sweepers, who are often white, give little or no attention to sections where negroes live; that negro sections, because they are negro sections, are almost invariably neglected by city as well as county officials.

Separation, as far as I have been able to observe, has never meant equal treatment or equal accommodations on railroads or steamboats, in restaurants or on street cars, or anywhere else. I think sometimes an effort has been made to make it equal; but those who have the supervision of it, because of lack of interest or lack of sympathy, or perhaps lack of appreciation of the necessity of careful supervision, have allowed the accommodations to degenerate into inferior and in most cases into places absolutely unfit for human beings of any race. In many cases these places are as menacing to the health and the lives of the white race as they are demoralizing and degrading as well as menacing to the health and lives of the colored people.

It seems to me that the Southern conscience ought to be aroused to the point where the white South will demand absolutely equal accommodations for both races in all places where there is local segregation. In many places if they had negro constables, negro magistrates, negro policemen in negro sections, there would be far less criminality on the part of negroes, because these negro officials would ferret it out and locate the vicious criminal of his race, and would nine times out of ten see that he was brought to justice. Negro street cleaners would be more zealous in their duties. I believe that the

criminality of the South as far as the negro is concerned would be reduced 50 per cent if the authorities would call into service colored men as constables and policemen, and they would get coöperation which they *now* little dream of.

No laborer, either black or white, can give skillful, efficient, conscientious service when he is surrounded day and night by all that tends to lower his health, to distort his mind, to weaken his morals, to embitter his spirit, to shake his faith in his fellow men. The South's growth can come only when its laboring class is well housed, well fed, and surrounded by all that tends to make it strong mentally, morally, and physically. Under this system of segregation which is at present being agitated and practiced in many quarters it is impossible for the negro to grow normally in either his physical, mental, or moral life. To that extent he is inefficient and unsatisfactory as a laborer, and I much fear will grow more so.

The next largest group of negro industrial workers, according to the Census of 1910, are the 1,324,150 negroes who are engaged in domestic and personal service. These come in little personal contact, and have almost nothing in common, so far as actual occupation is concerned, with a similar though very much smaller group of white people. Nevertheless, because of the very intimate relationship which they sustain toward the dominant and lawmaking element, they are in many ways a most important factor in inter-racial problems. These domestic and personal service workers have been for more than a generation very largely the "ministers extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of the negro race at the court of Southern white public opinion." Their indifference, their laziness, their shiftlessness, their carelessness, their inefficiency, their immorality and criminality have played no inconsiderable part in shaping the mental attitude of most Southern white people toward the negro. Their interpretation of the sermons, lectures, lawyers' briefs, physicians' prescriptions, the conduct, character, feeling, sentiments, and longings of all the negroes in the South, educated and otherwise, has been the infallible foundation upon which the reputation of the whole negro race to a very large extent has been based. All of this class are not inefficient, shiftless, or criminals; but the domestic class and the personal



service element in any race, important as they are, and important as it is for this element in my race to be efficient and satisfactory and to hold their jobs, are not, however, the best representatives of a race of people, and they are apt to misinterpret and misrepresent the intelligent, well-meaning, property-owning, and progressive class. It is, therefore, unfair to the white race that it should shape its opinion of the entire negro race by the negro cook or butler who may not be satisfactory. It is even more unfair to the negro that the decision as to his morality, his intelligence, his ability, and his industrial efficiency should be determined merely by this element.

A great difficulty that faces the negro girls who are engaged in domestic service is the lack of attention and care on the part of her employers. It has had more to do with the moral degradation of negro women than any other single phase of Southern life. Little or no interest has been taken in these girls so long as they attended to their duties while on duty—where they went, with whom they associated, the life they lived, the environments in which they have spent their off hours, whether morally or physically fitting, have had little or no consideration. This has been perhaps natural, but it is certainly unfair not only to the negro domestic servant, but to the white employer of the negro domestic servant; and what is more, it has made many a negro woman ashamed of her job. Many well-meaning white people take it for granted that the negro will be lazy, dishonest, and immoral; and that very attitude, benevolent as it is, perhaps, is in itself most unfortunate and dangerous. It is most unfortunate for the negro that the white race should set a lower standard either industrially, morally, or intellectually for it, and too easily offer a sort of half apology for its weakness and failures and inefficiencies.

And this leads me to emphasize the very great necessity of education for the negro. There have been much criticism and some fun and ridicule at the expense of the educated negroes by people perhaps well-meaning, but after all that is said and done the most successful and the most reliable and the most influential element in my race, as in every race, are the educated negroes—the men and women who have done most to cement cordial, sympathetic, and help-

ful relations between the races, who have had the greatest influence upon the reckless, radical element of the negro for caution and conservatism. This class has been most patient and most persistent in its efforts to fit the negro for freedom and citizenship in its broadest and most perfect sense by practical Christian education and sane wholesome advice. Therefore, it seems to me that the best means of cementing a more cordial, sympathetic, helpful relationship between the two races is a thorough, systematic, sympathetic training and a practical education for both races, which means loyalty and efficiency, and especially so for the most backward of the two races—the negro. Our struggle, then, to bring all the laborers of the South to the point where they can make of this Southland, where cotton still remains the economic king, what it should eventually become must first be to feed, clothe, and house them properly. For this they must be trained intellectually, morally, and spiritually; and for this training the white people, the directing class, must see that all labor, black as well as white, has a full and complete opportunity to get the very best, broadest, deepest, and highest that the Creator has given to all mankind.

I honestly plead for the continued coöperation and backing of the South in the efforts and achievements of such secondary and higher educational institutions as Hampton, Tuskegee, Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, and Virginia Union University with a dozen other worthy institutions, not only for the training they give the negro, but for what this training has meant to the South and the nation. For it is only by broadening his horizon, enlarging his vision, increasing his ambition, deepening his pride in himself and in his race, and thereby increasing his respect for himself and other selves, that the negro will be made truly efficient—a permanent benefit to himself, to his race, and to his country. And this should be the Christian duty and patriotic obligation of every true American citizen, black and white alike.



## SOUTHERN RACE QUESTIONS IN WAR TIMES

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THE war, when it struck, quickly discovered all our weak places. We were weak in all the elements of military preparedness, and, what is more to the point, we were lacking in many of the essential moral qualities upon which must rest the hope of success in modern warfare. Over and over the experts who have written the periodical summaries of strategic movements in Europe have reminded us that the results of chief importance were psychological rather than material. Psychology will have much more to do with the end of the war than any other feature of military equipment.

## IN WHAT WERE WE WEAK ?

As a nation we had allowed greed and prejudice, love of luxury and oppression, unfairness and rank indifference, to enter into our relations with one another and with weaker races. For fifty years we have been a nation with our hopes set upon material advancement. We have moved in the direction of our greatest desire, and no one can deny that we have developed in economic resourcefulness much more rapidly than in social and moral trustworthiness. So much honor have we bestowed upon wealth, even where it was gained by oppression and extortion, and so little attention have we given to the claims of justice and kindness between neighbors and races, that our nation has almost lost the right to ask its citizens to make great sacrifices on its behalf. As a matter of simple fact, if our flag stands for nothing more than a century and a quarter of historical achievement, it is scarcely worthy of the blood which men are going forth to shed for it. Under the flag every form of evil has found shelter while it turned the professions of the flag into a mockery before human eyes. The flag professes "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as the chief article of its faith, and for fifty years we have been content to let this great democratic principle take care of itself as best it might. We have been guilty of the very things which have caused war in Europe. We have thought well of ourselves and have de-

spised others, and we have trampled the rights of others under our feet whenever it suited our convenience to do so. We have bewailed the atrocities in Europe and have complacently overlooked the atrocities in our own land. We may say truly that the Central powers of Europe have gone further in every direction than we have done, but the bitter reflection comes to us that the same evil things existed in our own life in a state of energetic and progressive violence.

#### UNITED AGAINST THE ENEMY

The flag is more than a fact of history. More than everything else it is an undying hope for the future. Our country is not all greed and oppression, not all indifference to the welfare of weaker neighbors and persecuted people. If we have evils enough to drive us to war, we have untarnished good enough in us to make that war triumphant for the right. We emerged from our shell of national isolation to discover that we were engaged in a world conflict whose ultimate purpose was to recast the governments of the world according to our own democratic ideals. Our ideals stood forth at their very best in the shining light of the sun, and we felt that our principles of kindness, justice and brotherhood were worth living for and worth dying for until men in every corner of the earth shared in their priceless benefits. With a unanimity that was both surprising and inspiring we turned as a nation from the business of peace to the business of war, and began at once to devote all our matchless resources to the task of democratizing the whole earth. How can it possibly escape our notice that portions of our own American life are undemocratic? How can we escape the contempt of the world if we preach abroad a doctrine we are unwilling to practice at home? We whose spirits are stirred at the oppression of Belgians and Poles and Jews in Europe, can we view with unconcern the race hatred and crude miscarriage of justice in our own land? Have we no ears to hear the pitiful moans that issue from Memphis and East St. Louis? Is there no appeal to our heightened sense of world responsibility in such facts as mob-violence, political and industrial unfairness, and the unhappy condition of many of our fellow beings in our own home land? The enemy-sympathizers and the obstructers of our national war policy are no more hurtful to



our ultimate aims and our influence as a world power than those who for personal gain or prejudice refuse to make the home land safe for democracy and race-justice.

#### INDUSTRIAL RECOGNITION

The war, combined with the migration of negro laborers from the South to the North, has done more to remove the unjust discrimination against negro labor than anything that has happened in fifty years. Among the first to recognize this change and to speak a clear word in favor of it was the University Commission on Southern Race Questions. Says the Commission:

The human being is moved and held not by money alone. Birthplace, home ties, family, friends, associations and attachments of numerous kinds, fair treatment, opportunity to labor and enjoy the legitimate fruits of labor, assurance of evenhanded justice in the courts, good educational facilities, sanitary living conditions, tolerance and sympathy—these things and others like them—make an even stronger appeal to the human mind and heart than does money.

The South can not compete on a financial basis with other sections of the country for the labor of the negro, but the South can easily keep her negroes against all allurements if she will give them a large measure of those things that human beings hold dearer than material goods. Generosity begets gratitude, and gratitude grips and holds men more powerfully than hooks of steel.

Surely the South has nothing to lose and much to gain by adopting an attitude like that indicated above.

The American Federation of Labor, at its session in Buffalo, New York, November 22, 1917, voted unanimously to recognize the organizations of negro laborers on the railroads in the Southeastern territory. Southern white delegates were among the first to speak in favor of this resolution, which embraced two points; the recognition of existing negro organizations, and the sending of a negro organizer among the thousands of laborers who know little of the meaning and benefit of membership in the American Federation of Labor. Commenting upon this action, the *New York Age* says:

What has been done here in giving the negro of the South a new opportunity to help himself is in itself perhaps trivial, but it at least marks an end of the old antagonism which prevented the creation of colored trade unions under the Federation in the trades where every white man

carried a union card. Probably the war has been largely responsible for the new feeling. Labor supply is short. Colored workers, migrating to the industrial towns and to the North by hundreds of thousands, have become efficient, and many of them skilled. They are getting more pay than they ever dreamed of, and they are becoming used to the knowledge that they can get still higher wages if they join their efforts in that direction.

It may easily prove that the negro will come into the unions more rapidly than has any other race in the country, now that his own people are to take the invitation to him.

The war is a "speeding up" process. When it is over we will see as we never saw before that God meant the nations of the earth, regardless of color, to live and help live.

#### THE SUPREME COURT AND SEGREGATION

The Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision November 5, 1917, reversing the decision of the Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky. Charles H. Buchanan, a white man, brought suit against William Worley, a colored man, to force the colored man to fulfill his contract to purchase a piece of property on a certain block in the city of Louisville. The offer to buy the property contained the proviso that the colored man should not be compelled to purchase unless he had the right under the laws of Kentucky and the City of Louisville to occupy the property as a residence. The city of Louisville has an ordinance requiring "the use of separate blocks for residences, places of abode, and places of assembly by white and colored people respectively." The decision of the suit turned upon the validity of this ordinance. In the Supreme Court the concrete question was raised: "May the occupancy, and, necessarily, the purchase and sale of property of which occupancy is an incident, be inhibited by the State, or by one of its municipalities, solely because of the color of the proposed occupant of the premises?"

Passing to its decision, the Supreme Court decided: "Colored persons are citizens of the United States and have the right to purchase property and enjoy and use the same without laws discriminating against them solely on account of color . . . . We think this attempt to prevent the alienation of the property in question to a person of color was not a legitimate exercise of



the police power of the State, and is in direct violation of the fundamental law enacted in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution preventing state interference with property rights except by due process of law. That being the case the ordinance can not stand."

Segregation ordinances have been passed by municipalities in Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, Missouri, Texas and Oklahoma, and various decisions touching them have been rendered by lower courts. The decision of the United States Supreme Court will undoubtedly have an effect upon all ordinances now existing and upon all that may be contemplated in the future.

#### COLORED MAN ADVISER TO SECRETARY OF WAR

Secretary of War Baker called to Washington as his special assistant Mr. Emmett J. Scott, Secretary of Tuskegee Institute. His purpose in thus having at his council table a high grade citizen of the colored race is given in the Secretary's words: "It has been my policy to discourage discrimination against any persons by reason of their race." Mr. Scott says of his appointment:

The Secretary of War recognizes that in the unqualified support of this group of Americans, whom I have the honor to represent, he, in our Country's Defense, has behind him an asset of appreciable value in the prosecution of the present war. On the other hand, he is equally desirous that we, as American citizens, shall have full and free opportunity to participate, as officers, as soldiers, and as loyal, self-sacrificing citizens, in this, the greatest conflict of all the ages, and that now and hereafter we shall receive the rewards which justly follow upon services well rendered.

There have been, and will continue to be, problems arising out of the presence of white and colored soldiers in cantonments and training camps, and other problems arising out of the needs of agriculture, industry and civil service in times of war. It is a matter of satisfaction to all thinking persons that in the first critical months of the war so little of evil and so much of good has developed in the process of mobilization. The appearance of evil, as for example the riots at Houston, was put to the discredit of the individuals involved, not to the discredit of the race they represented.

The friends of the negro, and those who have read his history in American wars, expected nothing from him but a prompt and whole-hearted response to the call to service. Whenever in peace or in war did the negro raise his hand against the American government, or speak a word of consolation to her enemies? It is not an exaggeration to say that the American negroes are solidly behind the President and his cabinet in every war measure they may adopt. It is equally true to say that the War Department is doing more than has ever been done before to encourage this patriotic zeal of our colored fellow citizens.

At the present writing, December 21, 1917, colored drafted soldiers have been distributed in the cantonments as follows: to Camp Devens, 600; Camp Upton, 800; Camp Dix, 4,500; Camp Meade, 6,100; Camp Lee, 6,300; Camp Jackson, 5,900; Camp Gordon, 9,000; Camp Pike, 9,600; Camp Custer, 600; Camp Grant, 7,200; Camp Taylor, 3,000; Camp Dodge, 6,600; Camp Funston, 8,300; Camp Travis, 6,500; and Camp Lewis, 400, making a total of 83,600.

There has been less disorder, immorality and crime in the centers where the United States Army is in training for the present war than is universally recorded of military movements. There is a seriousness of purpose and a gravity of deportment in the environment of our training centers that marks the present army of the United States as unique in the annals of the world.

Among the causes that have contributed to this notable result we mention the following:

1. The world-wide human appeal which drew us into the war. Our motive was overwhelmingly benevolent, and lesser motives had difficulty to survive in the presence of a purpose so fundamentally just.

2. The quiet, persistent study of race questions during the past five years. More has been written and spoken during these years, more discussions have been held between groups of men and women, white and colored, meeting together, more unselfish friendly service has been exchanged between the races, than during the whole period since the Civil War. Undoubtedly



the willingness to face the facts has been productive of good, and we are reaping the benefits of the good seed we have been scattering.

3. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, as agencies of the Church of God, have filled a providential mission in the proper adjustment of race relationships. In their work among students, in industry, and among city populations the influence of these two organizations has been particularly wholesome and far-reaching; and demands for their operations in war are increasingly urgent.

Worthy of particular mention is the attitude of the Southern press toward the selective draft as applied to negroes. The *Vicksburg Herald* looked "with no favor upon drafting Southern negroes," because they do not share equally with white people in the benefits of government, and also because it looks in the direction of military race equality. The *Vicksburg Evening Post* opposed the draft of negroes because "after the war they will come home with their untutored minds inflated with military airs and impressed with the fact that since they had offered their lives in the defense of the Nation's flag, it will be but a short step to the conclusion that it is a freeman's duty to give his life in defense of his political rights. Let him become obsessed with the idea of his importance, and, unrestrained by military discipline and regulations, it is my judgment that the Houston, Texas, incident will be a trivial affair compared with the magnitude of the problems which the white men of the South will be called upon to solve."

Very few Southern editors endorsed the views of these Vicksburg papers; but on the contrary, almost all of them gave hearty endorsement to the plan to enlist negroes as well as white soldiers in the great war for democracy. A few sentiments we quote:

"It is the marvel of the South, as it ought to be the admiration of the whole United States, that when the colored man in the hard stages of the war, through which we are beginning to pass, is being put to the test, he is measuring up to the full valuation of a citizen and a patriot. There has been nothing wanting about him. In every activity to which the mind of the country has been directed since it was committed by its great President to war, the negro has fulfilled his obligation."—Charlotte, N. C., *News*.

"The negroes have met the first test admirably. Both the drafted men and the negro leaders of South Carolina have earned the commendation of them which is being freely voiced by white citizens everywhere."—Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier*.

"It is not necessary to go further than Latin America to look for examples of capable negro officers. There is no doubt about the courage of American negroes as soldiers. There will be no doubt about the capacity of the negro candidates who have won commissions in the Officers' Reserve Camp at Des Moines. Officerred by men of their own race, the negroes will experience an increase of pride. They will exhibit a spirit of rivalry and increased ambition to make a creditable showing in battle."—Louisville, Ky., *Courier-Journal*.

"This is a great experiment that the government has been making, and up to now there has been no cause for regret. Let us all, white and black, keep it that way."—Columbia, S. C., *Record*.

"And if these things are taken into full consideration, and the proper spirit of tolerance and the proper decorum is manifested by both whites and negroes, each race deporting itself according to the principles of reason, justice and moderation, Camp Gordon will turn out a complement of as fine colored troops as ever stood in uniform, and of which the South and the entire Nation will be proud."—Atlanta, Ga., *Constitution*.

There will be many to endorse the following sentiment expressed in the *Times-Enterprise* of Thomasville, Ga., concerning the political aspects of the race question:

"They are paying our debt, the world's debt, with their blood. They are equal in military service, and the day is coming when they will work themselves into a position to demand and receive equal suffrage. When they do, the negro problem will then have been settled."

It is not a new thought, but one worthy of profoundest consideration, that many of our difficult problems in civilian life will find their solution in the discipline and sacrificial spirit of war.

Patriotic citizens everywhere have just cause to be proud of the results of the First Provisional Officers' Training Camp at Fort Des Moines, Iowa. After their training and examination, six hundred and seventy-eight colored men received their commissions as follows: 160 Captains, 320 First Lieutenants, and 198 Second Lieutenants. Uudoubtedly many other colored men will be commissioned to serve in the enlarging army.

The National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association is doing everything for the colored soldiers that



it is doing for the white soldiers. This work is carried on absolutely without favoritism and without prejudice. There are colored secretaries in every camp where there are colored soldiers, the total number of war work colored secretaries in the United States at this writing being ninety-five. Fifteen others are in overseas work, as follows: eight in France and seven in East Africa.

#### WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Have we any grounds for the hope that out of the war will grow improved race relationships? It is encouraging to observe that white and colored soldiers are living peaceably side by side in cantonments and training camps, and that mobilization has occasioned no increase of crime, mob-violence and social immorality in the South. Do these facts justify the hope that we shall emerge from the war a purified people without race-hate, injustice and crime as the chief indictment against our civilization? The following are significant answers to this question furnished the writer in reply to telegrams and letters.

Dr. Jesse E. Moorland, Senior Secretary of the Colored Men's Department, Young Men's Christian Association, says:

I believe the war will have a great deal to do with crumbling race prejudice. White and colored soldiers in all the cantonments so far as I know are on peaceful terms. Cruel as the whole thing is, it may be the way for men to learn to be brothers when they fight, bleed and die together for a common cause.

President William T. Holmes, of Tugaloo University, declares:

"Permanently improved race relations I believe are coming from the war. The draft and the food crisis demonstrate that negroes are essential to full national efficiency. Our fighting against German arrogance means fighting also against American arrogance as shown in such atrocities as mobs and lynchings."

Dr. John W. Gilbert, of Paine College, Augusta, Ga., sends this telegram:

Effects of war as I see it tend toward reduction of race prejudice and mob violence. The ill forebodings feared and expressed by many that social immorality would result from negro camp life have not material-

ized. In white and colored training camps mutual respect and confidence are commendable. The valor and compatriotism of white and colored soldiers in this war will inevitably lead to permanent improvement in race relations after the conflict.

Dean Kelly Miller, of Howard University, expresses his hope in the following message:

War will serve to assuage race bitterness throughout the world. Will stop onslaught upon negro by cunning politicians who heretofore have made fame and fortune by such denunciation. Mob violence will diminish as bitterness abates. Mingling in camp begets understanding, sympathy, kindliness. Results following war will be permanent because based upon permanent foundation of righteousness and Christian brotherhood.

Dr. Robert R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, reinforces this hope in the following message:

The war in which we are engaged is for a more liberal interpretation of justice and human brotherhood, for democracy. To the most casual observer the tendency towards the growing feeling of understanding and sympathy on the part of white people of the South has been tremendously accelerated by the war and by the problems that have grown out of it. Wherever there is understanding and sympathy there is also progress. I have visited some of the cantonments, and the training camp for colored officers at Des Moines, Iowa. There for the first time in my life I saw colored men being trained as officers in our country's army, and at the cantonments I saw soldiers being trained under the command of Negro officers. Almost everywhere I have been lately I have found the negro possessing a high degree of loyalty and patriotism. Many Northern white soldiers are encamped in the South; all of this has a tendency to bring about better understanding between the sections and the races. Also the negro is being offered opportunities economic, military, and otherwise, such as the race has hitherto not witnessed. The desire on the part of the leading white and colored people to put aside racial as well as sectional differences and concentrate all efforts towards the destruction of the foes of democracy can not but result in lessening misunderstanding. and will, therefore, in the long run, in my opinion, lessen mob violence and otherwise have a very wholesome effect on both races in the South. Negro leaders just now are very anxious that the negro shall rise to these unusual opportunities as he has always done in the past. I feel very sure he will.



## A CATHEDRAL OF CO-OPERATION

RIGHT REVEREND WILBUR P. THIRKIELD, D.D., LL.D., BISHOP  
OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,  
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

A CATHEDRAL proper represents the religious aspirations and ideals of a people. A noble place of worship, often embodied in stone, it speaks of the unseen and eternal. A Cathedral of Coöperation represents an ideal central organization, to be used as a clearing house for the coöperative civic, religious, and moral reform activities of the people. It stands for the idea of united activity. It is a religious organization without a Church, but rooted in the hearts and sympathies and reciprocal relations of all the people; it stands for the higher life of the social whole.

Our plea is for a permanent basis of Christian union, moral sympathy, and coöperation among all races in America; a Cathedral of Coöperation, established and maintained in every community as a common meeting place for the representatives of all races, intent on the moral and social betterment and the uplifting of all the people.

As a nation we face a problem unmatched in human history. The world is centering here. America has become the melting pot of the nations. Here all races are melting, seething, and reforming. America will be to them either the fires of God, cleansing and redeeming, or the fires of hell, corrupting, destroying, damning.

The necessity of a well-defined basis of coöperation between diverse peoples is illustrated and enforced by the following incidents of history, relating merely to two races, but the principles of which apply to the coöperative relations of all races.

In the first campaign for prohibition in Atlanta, in 1885, the best elements of two races met together in a campaign that developed the noblest spirit of moral earnestness I have ever witnessed. In the enthusiasm of the hour, black and white, then constituting practically the entire population of the city, were fused together in moral sympathy and in coöperation for the great cause of civic and social betterment. The interests of both in the success of the campaign were identical. They

met and spoke on the same platform to the united body of citizenship. The campaign ended in a decisive victory that wiped out the saloons from Atlanta. The law was enforced, and for two years evidences of progress furnished a demonstration in favor of prohibition in a large city.

Seeing the necessity for continued coöperation and a bond of moral and religious sympathy between their leaders, a plea was made in the Evangelical Ministers' Association for a joint meeting of white and colored ministers every three months for mutual prayer and for the encouragement of a spirit of unity in the interest of temperance and moral reform and for the consideration of ethical, civic, and religious questions common to all men. This proposal was rejected. Unwholesome tendencies might be wrapped up in it, was one objection; while others said it was best for the races to hold apart and each work out its own salvation. This developed self-reliance, was the claim.

At the end of two years came the second campaign. The argument from facts was entirely on the side of prohibition. The union of white and colored leadership was far from complete. Prohibition was defeated. The only district or precinct in the entire county for prohibition was the South Bend district, in which were located Gammon Theological Seminary and Clark University. The reasons for this defeat were apparent. There was no bond of moral union, no well-defined basis of coöperation, no fusion of the races, as before, in a united and enthusiastic movement. The united rum power had been at work in a campaign that was too much for the prohibition forces, the organizations in support of which had merely been hitched up together for this occasion.

The open saloon won. The forces of moral disorder and violence again held sway. Vile dens were opened to white and colored men; the worst whisky was sold; the chain gangs, under the convict lease system, an organized school of crime, were again kept filled to the profit of the lessees. The moral tone of the entire city was lowered.

In less than twenty years came the fruitage in the terror, bloodshed, and death of the awful Atlanta riot, when for days the city was held at the mercy of the angry and resistless mob, the red flames of which had been fed by intemperate and violent



race agitation, heated by the hot liquor of the saloon. Two races stood arrayed one against the other. Violence reigned. A whole city was in terror. The tragedy of the situation was in this: there were no channels of communication open between the better elements of both races. Even white ministers were not in touch with the colored leaders. There was no Cathedral, or broad common meeting place, for the religious elements among white and black, no basis of coöperation in the interests of peace and moral order, for which the best elements of both races stood.

Finally, at the Colored Y. M. C. A., led by Governor Northen—revered, beloved—Christian white men met with the educated colored leaders in the effort to find a basis for counsel and coöperation. But these moral leaders in the same community looked each into the other's eyes as strangers. In this crisis they fell on their knees and prayed themselves into a spirit of brotherly sympathy and coöperation. This unpretentious Y. M. C. A. building through this act rose to the dignity of a cathedral of God. As a result, a platform of mutual confidence and harmony between the best elements of both races was established. Riot and bitterness were allayed. A city was snatched from the remorseless and inhuman jaws of a bloody, avenging, resistless mob. Now a new atmosphere and new relations obtain, as witnessed in the recent Y. M. C. A. campaign. A colored leader has said that the riot proved a blessing in disguise.

This bit of history enforces my plea for coöperation as opposed to separation, neglect, or repression in the treatment of all immigrant or belated races and backward peoples in this land of composite civilization. The principle proposed is simply that of the Golden Rule and the application of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount among various peoples who must live and work out their destiny together.

This idea of a Cathedral of Coöperation is American, reasonable, Christian. It is based on the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This is the central doctrine of Jesus who was, in the word of a great historian, the "first to bring the value of every human soul to light, and what he did no one can any more undo."

This plea is based on the Christian doctrine lying at the foundation of modern democracy—reverence for man as man. As Kant has put it: "Always treat humanity, whether in yourself or another, as a person, never as a thing." It is in the interest of giving every man a chance to develop the best and divinest that is in him; to give to every man a footing of equality of opportunity in the struggle of life. It is only as all men plan and work together in sympathy and coöperation that democracy comes to its best.

Jesus never taught the flat equality of men. He did give a working principle which, wrought out in the life of mankind, would bring harmony and peace and the highest development to the individual and society.

This idea of coöperation lies at the very basis even of *material* progress. It encourages every man to be and to do his best. Permanent progress rests back in the home. It has to do with food and health and family welfare. A spirit of coöperation opposes the policy that would leave weaker people to lift themselves up by their own boot straps. It would lend a hand to the weaker brother. Forever is it true that the hand that contracts and cheats any race clutches at the throat and chokes broadest prosperity.

The moral life of all is involved in this plan of coöperation. People who trample any part of the social whole under the foot of ignorance, corruption, or sensuality will sooner or later find themselves under the hoofs of the same devil. No man can put a chain around the ankle of his fellow man without sooner or later finding the other end of that chain about his own neck. Unless we lift all people up, sooner or later they may drag us and our children down.

Such a broad plan of coöperation among races will overcome tendencies to violence. Lawlessness sets no limits of race. The Anglo-Saxon, in the end, is not safe where the rights of any other man are violated. Retaliation is human and inevitable. Kant is right: "If law ceases, all worth of human life ceases also."

The seat of race antagonism is race prejudice. The united sympathy at the basis of coöperation curbs this harmful spirit. Never before has there been such a mingling of nationalities. National and race barriers are breaking down. The world is



becoming one. To-day the adjustment of race differences is the problem not only of the humanitarian, but of true civilization. The modern ideal must be world citizenship.

Our love for Christ has not made the progress it should in demanding humanity, justice, and sympathy for all men. How often we hear the terms, "Sheeny," "Nigger," "Dago," "Hobo"—damning to hate and intolerance a whole race because of the coarse or objectionable qualities of certain members! This is utterly unchristian. The very attitude toward the Jew is the reproach of Christian history.

Such names are apt to have behind them an attitude of contempt and hate that is dangerous. It is often the spirit of the clinched fist, with the stone held for hurling in the hour of crisis. If not curbed, we shall often see, as in the past in California toward the Japanese, in Omaha toward the Greek, and in Mississippi and Illinois toward the negro, the demon spirit of Russia that drives out the Jew, confiscates, murders. Face to face with an unprecedented commingling of the races, such an attitude is full of peril.

One of our first problems is the conquest of race prejudice. In this is involved not merely religious progress but true civilization. You can never reach and Christianize peoples whom you patronize or despise as inherently and forever inferior because of birth or color or nationality. Red, yellow, black, or brown skins are the gifts of God as well as white skins. Human hearts beat behind them all, and suffer and struggle and bleed and aspire.

Our Anglo-Saxon civilization is gathering up in its sweep and current men of all races. Only a spirit of broad sympathy and generous coöperation will redeem these peoples out of the narrowness of race feuds and hatreds and rivalries into a civilization that is genuinely tolerant, coöperative, Christian.

Objection to this spirit of coöperation roots back into the really groundless fear of what is called social equality. Such a fetish has this become, especially as related to one race, that it has led to neglect and indifference that are startling. As the late Governor Northen has said: "I have heard many sermons preached on missions to negroes in Africa, but I never heard a sermon on missions to Africans in the South."

Such a fear is groundless, because there is no such thing as social equality. There is social privilege and civil right, but no such thing as social right. Every man is lord of his own castle, and his personality is sacred against invasion. Governor Northen has pierced to the center of this whole business in the following words: "Social equality is a delusion set up by the demagogue in civic contentions to meet his ambition for place and personal power, and paraded as a device of the devil for the strengthening of the influences against the kingdom of God." What men want is not equality, but sympathy and humanity, civic justice and human rights.

Preachers are the leaders of the moral forces in all races. Let there be an organization, as broad as humanity and as catholic as Christ, in every town and city, to membership in which representatives of all Churches and of all religious and moral reform movements, of every religion and race, shall be eligible. And here let us note the startling fact that there has been a larger spirit of coöperation between scientists and physicians of various races, in work for human welfare, than there has been between ministers of various faiths and races for the moral and social betterment of all peoples—that is, science has done what religion has failed to do.

At stated meetings of this body let all matters that relate to social well-being and moral and civic progress be freely considered. The outcome will be mutual sympathy, religious tolerance, and a broader spirit of coöperation. In the hour of calamity or of social conflict this federated body will furnish a center for common leadership and united action.

For example, interest will be quickened in the common schools, which are fundamental to a democracy; the teaching force, the equipment, the methods of instruction, the general moral atmosphere of the schools may be wisely considered.

The housing of the people, sanitation, the cleansing of physical conditions, such as have lifted Wilmington to a higher plane, would be considered.

In such a union the solidarity of race would be evident. The fact that disease draws no race lines would clearly appear; and that the pestilence that walketh in the darkness and squalor of the alley flies forth in the destruction that wasteth even in the noonday of the electric-lighted street.



Such an organization would in itself go far toward creating a new atmosphere of hope among all peoples, and would especially stimulate and encourage depressed classes. Without hope and high incentive born of civic sympathy and coöperation, no race or people can come to its best.

And when this spirit of genuine coöperation and patient sympathy wins its way among all peoples, then shall be fulfilled that prophetic dream of your own Henry W. Grady—the dawning of the new and larger day, when eternal sunshine shall rain its light and benediction on all races walking together in mutual coöperation and abiding peace.

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### STATEMENT ON RACE RELATIONSHIP

No one who has attended the sessions of this sectional conference could fail to realize that there is a growing and deepening interest on the part of Southern white men in the nine million negroes who live by our sides in the South. Four sectional conferences were held in discussing the above topic, with an average attendance of between three and four hundred. The meeting was characterized by sanity, scientific investigation, a spirit of coöperation, and an intense desire for helpfulness to all. A great many of the leading universities in the South were represented by their professors or Presidents, and it was evident from the very outset that the best thinkers of both races had come together with the determination to study, without prejudice, this greatest problem of the entire South. At the conclusion of the fourth session the committee of representative Southern white men having this conference in hand drew together the following statement, not in the form of a resolution, but as a statement of conviction of some of the things needed to be brought to the attention of the entire South.

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Recognizing that tuberculosis and other contagious diseases now prevalent among the negroes of the South are a menace to the health, welfare, and prosperity of both races, we believe there should be a most hearty coöperation between the health authorities of the various States and cities and the colored

physicians, ministers, and teachers. We further believe that practical lessons on sanitation and hygiene should be given in all public schools, both white and colored, and also in the institutions for advanced training throughout the Southern States.

Recognizing that the South is no exception to the nations of the world in that its courts of justice are often more favorable to the rich than to the poor, and further recognizing the fact that the juxtaposition of a more privileged race and a less privileged race complicates this situation, we plead for courts of justice instead of mere courts of law; we plead further for a deeper sense of obligation on the part of the more privileged class to see to it that justice is done to every man and woman, white and black alike.

Recognizing that lynch law is no cure for the evil of crime, but is rather an aggravation, and is itself the quintessence of all crime, since it weakens law, and if unchecked must finally destroy the whole bond that holds us together and makes civilization and progress possible; other things being equal, we recognize that a crime is worse which is committed by an individual of one race upon an individual of another race, and that form of retaliation is most harmful which is visited by one race upon another. We further believe that there must be a prompt and just administration of the law in the detection and punishment of criminals, but to this must be added those influences of knowledge and of good will between the races which will more and more prevent the commission of crime.

Recognizing further that the economic and moral welfare of the South is greatly dependent on a better trained negro in all the walks of life in which he is engaged, and further recognizing that the State is in the business of education for the sake of making better citizens of all men, white and black alike, and thereby safeguarding the life and property of the community and upbuilding its economic prosperity—

In view of this fact, we believe that four definite steps of improvement must be made in the negro schools of the South. Such steps of improvement are already under way in a number of our Southern States:



1. The schools must be made to fit into and minister definitely to the practical life of the community in which they are located.

2. There must be a larger amount of money put into our public schools for negroes, thus enabling them to have longer terms and to secure better trained teachers.

3. There must be a more thorough supervision on the part of the white superintendents following the lead of many superintendents already working.

4. We must attempt to furnish to these negro schools, through public funds, a better type of trained teachers, and to this end more sane, thoroughgoing schools for negro teachers must be established.

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